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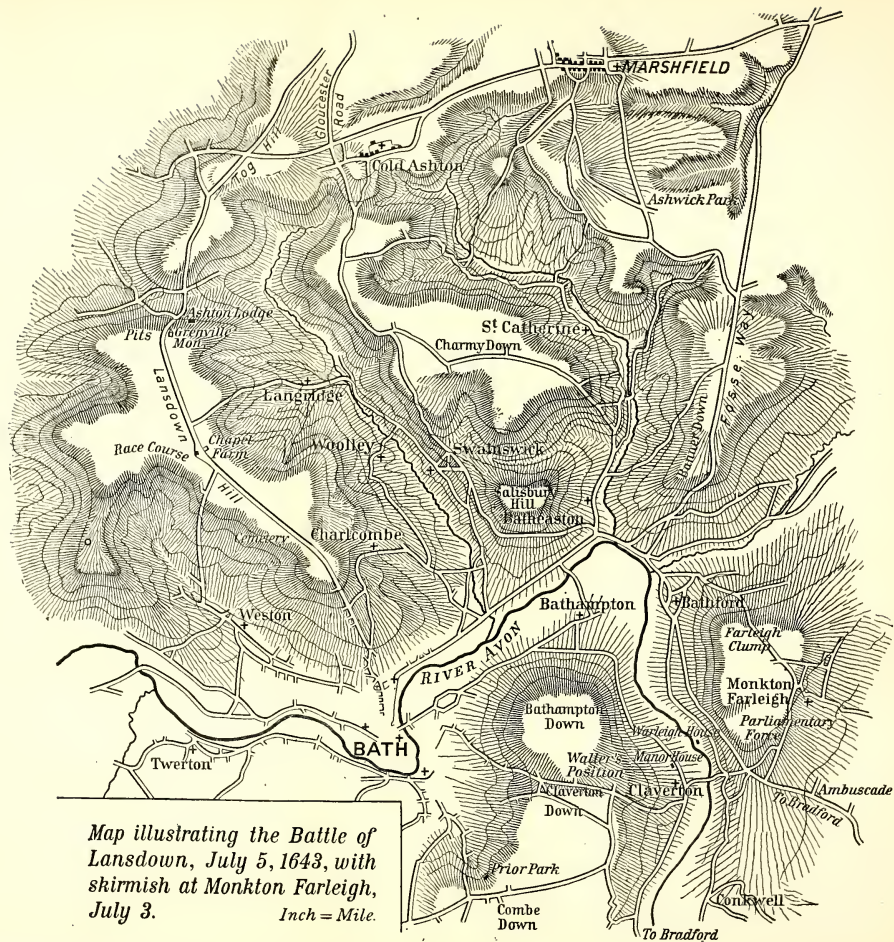
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Somerset Record Society.

VOL. XVIII.





Bellum Civile.

HOPTON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST (1642-1644) AND OTHER PAPERS.

EDITED BY
CHARLES E. H. CHADWYCK HEALEY,
*One of His Majesty's Counsel,
Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Recd. Hopton's Narrative, 1644

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OWING to the late date at which the volume for 1901 was issued, the Report and Balance Sheet of that year were included in the preliminary matter. The Balance Sheet has been reissued in the volumes for 1902 so as to keep the financial position of the Society before the members. The Secretary-Treasurer feels that he carries on an unequal struggle against the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his appeal for financial support ; yet the net number of subscribers remains the same as last year.

Gerard's Survey and the *Somerset Medieval Wills* have broken new ground in the spacious domain of "Records"; which will be still further exploited by the issue of *Hopton's "Narrative."* The appearance also of the third volume of the *Pedes Finium*, covering the half century after the Black Death, should provide an historical interest beyond the immediate purpose of tracing the devolution of property in the County.

Suggestions for future issues will be carefully considered.

E. H. BATES.

SOMERSET RECORD SOCIETY.

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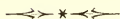
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INTRODUCTION.

THE papers included in this volume relating to the military affairs in the western and southern counties of England were largely used by Lord Clarendon in the preparation of his history. They have been made use of by others also, and extracts from them have from time to time appeared in print, but hitherto they have not been available in their entirety for reference in a printed form. When the first volume of the "History of the Great Civil War" was written, the first of Hopton's documents was missing, and Mr. Gardiner had not seen it (see vol. i. p. 81). It was rediscovered and used by him in his second edition (see vol. i. p. 32, ed. 1893). Lord Hopton's narrative is contained in three documents, copies, numbered in the printed calendar of the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian Library as 1738 (1), (4), and (6). The first covers the period from September, 1642, to June, 1643. The second continues the account down to and inclusive of the taking of Bristol by Prince Rupert on the 26th July, 1643. The last of the three brings the narrative down to the battle of Alresford on the 29th March, 1644. To this account are added Colonel Slingsby's relation of the battle of Lansdown, fought on the 5th July, and that of Roundway Down, fought on the 13th July, 1643; of the siege of Bristol and of the battle of Alresford. These three papers are No. 1738 (2), (3), and (7) in the calendar. A few further papers relating to the same period are included, and some notes from contemporary sources, chiefly the Thomasson tracts, known as the King's Pamphlets, in the British Museum, have been added. The documents are printed here as they are written, except that some trifling abbreviations, such as "y^e" and "Mat^{ie}," have been extended. The proofs have been collated with the original manuscripts. Here and there dates have been inserted between square brackets where blanks had been left in the original.

An endeavour has been made to trace upon a map Hopton's movements during the period covered by his narrative. The line of march so laid down is intended merely to show the

movements of the headquarters of the army. The operations of bodies of troops detached from the main force could not be added except at the expense of clearness. As it is, the marchings and counter-marchings, around Launceston for example, are sufficiently complicated.

The Society is indebted to Mr. Firth for the suggestion that these documents should thus be made easily accessible to students, and the thanks of the editor are due to him for the transcript of Hopton's narrative, and for much valuable advice.

Sir Ralph Hopton, to whom Clarendon was indebted for the narratives printed in this volume, was son of Robert Hopton of Witham in Somerset, where the family had been established since the grant to Robert Hopton of the manor by Henry VIII. His mother was Jane, daughter and heir of Rowland Kemeys, a Monmouthshire gentleman. He was born in 1598. At the coronation of Charles I. he was created a Knight of the Bath.¹ At the beginning of the thirty years' war he entered the service of the Elector Palatine, and is said to have escorted the Queen of Bohemia in her flight after the battle of Prague.² Clarendon tells us³ that "he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the Queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had personally and actively served in their wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose honour and restitution he had been a zealous and known champion." In December, 1624, he was lieutenant-colonel of Sir Charles Rich's regiment, raised in England for Count Mansfeld's expedition.⁴ He was elected member for Somerset on the 30th March, 1640. He had previously sat for Wells, and on the 16th October, 1640, he was re-elected for that city.

During the early days of the Long Parliament he belonged to the popular party. He voted for Strafford's attainder.⁵ He was spokesman of the committee appointed to present the remonstrance to the King, and reported his answer to the Commons.⁶

In the spring of 1642 his opinion underwent a change, and he became a supporter of the King, and opposed the Ordinance

¹ Dugdale's *Baronage*. Lloyd says that he was born in 1601.

² Lloyd's *Memoirs of Excellent Personages*, 1668, p. 342.

³ Book vij.

⁴ Rushworth, i. 153.

⁵ Verney's *Notes of the Long Parliament*, Camden Soc., p. 48; see *Commons Journals*, vol. 2, p. 39.

⁶ Rushworth, vol. jv. p. 436.

for the militia. He was sent to the Tower for a few days for his strong language in the House.¹

In the late summer of 1642 he was sent by the King from Beverley with the Marquess of Hertford upon the expedition to the West. His movements down to the battle of Alresford, in March, 1644, are sufficiently detailed in his narrative. He was created a peer on the 4th September, 1643, by the title of Lord Hopton of Stratton.² The King was, no doubt, to large extent influenced to confer this honour by the willingness Hopton had shown to help him out of the entanglement caused by the premature appointment of Prince Rupert to be Governor of Bristol. The grant of the peerage was so framed as to enure for the benefit of the uncle of the grantee, Sir Arthur Hopton, and his heirs male in the event of the death of the first lord without issue male, which happened. Sir Arthur, however, predeceased his nephew, also without issue.

After Alresford, Hopton joined the King, and served him in various capacities, including that of master-general of the ordnance of the whole kingdom. In 1646 he was beaten by Fairfax at Torrington, where he was again wounded, and in March of the same year his army, weakened by desertion and mutiny, capitulated at Truro. He then accompanied the Prince of Wales to Scilly, and after to Jersey. He was with the Prince when the latter took command, in July, 1648, of the revolted fleet of the Parliament. "There was only one man in the [Prince's] council of whom nobody spoke ill or laid anything to his charge, and that was the Lord Hopton. But there was then such a combination by the countenance of Prince Rupert with all the other lords of the Court, and the Attorney-General, upon former grudges to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular virtue and fidelity and his unquestionable courage and industry (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve."³ Hopton, at this time, was one of the leaders of the party which was in favour of making concessions to the Presbyterians,⁴ and this fact, no doubt, was one of the causes of intrigue against him. Upon the treaty of Breda in 1650, he

¹ *Commons Journals*, ij. 467. Clarendon, bk. jv.

² Dugdale, *Baronage*. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 271.

³ Clarendon, Bk. xj.

⁴ Gardiner, *Civil War*, vol. iij. 422.

was excluded from the council by reason of his opposition, and soon after retired into private life at Wesel. After Worcester he endeavoured to compound for his estates, but he had been excepted from pardon by the Parliament, and his petition was refused. His house at Evercreech, which was built in 1613, was sold as a forfeited estate during the Commonwealth.¹

Hopton married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Arthur Capel, of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, widow of Sir Justinian Lewyn, Knight.² After Alresford she was captured by Sir William Balfour near Newbury, in her coach with twelve horses, and with all courtesy escorted on her way to Oxford, after being relieved of her own guard. She died in 1646. Lord Hopton sought a new alliance in the person of a daughter of Lady Morton, and granddaughter of Lady Barbara Villiers, but the negotiations were broken off. He died at Bruges in September, 1652, aged 54. His body was brought to Witham after the Restoration, and there interred.³

Writing of the men in the councils of Charles I., Clarendon says of Hopton that he was "a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the license and the levities with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tried, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted, a virtue that none of the rest had; but in the debates concerning the war was longer in resolving and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander-in-chief, which rendered him rather fit for the second, than for the supreme command in an army."⁴

In another place Clarendon wrote that Hopton was "as faultless a person as I ever knew man."⁵ That he had the respect of his opponents in the field there is abundant evidence to show. Between him and Waller there was a friendship which even the political feelings of the time could not kill, and his last conqueror, Fairfax, took pains to give expression to his sympathy and his admiration for Hopton's honourable and humane conduct of the war.

In February, 1642, the Parliament presented the Militia Bill to the King. The object of the measure was to make the lords-

¹ Collinson, vol. iij. 414.

² Dugdale, *Baronage*.

³ Dugdale, *Baronage*.

⁴ Clarendon, Bk. viij.

⁵ Letter to Nicholas in 1652 : Calr. Clarendon Papers, vol. iij. p. 151.

lieutenant of the counties responsible for peace, and for this purpose the control of the trained bands was to be placed in their hands, under the immediate orders of the two Houses. Upon the rejection of the Bill by the King, the Parliament was compelled to fall back upon an Ordinance of its own, passed with similar object. By the middle of June most of the counties had accepted the Ordinance. The King endeavoured to meet this encroachment by the issue of the Commissions of Array of which we hear much in this volume. These Commissions directed the trained bands to rally round the officers bearing the King's Commission, and to disregard the orders of the officers appointed by the Parliament. The controversy had now reached an acute stage. Each party persisted in its endeavour to obtain the control of the trained bands. The Royalists denounced the Parliament's officers as traitors. The Parliament declared the Commissions of Array to be illegal. Throughout the country the matter was argued with more or less vehemence from both points of view. Early in August the constables of several hundreds in Somerset presented a petition to Sir Robert Foster, the justice of assize. They said that they had heard that the King had issued to the Marquess of Hertford a Commission of Array for mustering the trained bands and seizing the magazines, and they prayed public direction as to the legality of such Commission, so that "the petitioners and the rest of the county may know the law therein, and accordingly shape their obedience."¹ Selden contended with great persistence that the Commissions of Array and the Ordinance of Parliament were both illegal, and that the Ordinance was, if possible, the less legal of the two. Thus it came about that, with so much difference of opinion, it was open to the individual to take the side which was best fitted to his own judgment or convenience.

This determination of the King on one side and the Parliament on the other to secure the military command, coupled with the former's preparations at York and his attempt to secure the magazine of arms at Hull, brought matters to a crisis. Both parties saw that war was inevitable. About the second week in August the Parliament was already collecting arms in London, and on the 22nd the King set up his standard at Nottingham. The war had actually begun.

¹ Calr. State Papers, Dom. 1641-43, p. 370.

Meanwhile the Marquess of Hertford had been sent into Somerset with a Commission of Array and instructions for the King's service in the West. Hopton went with him.

Upon his arrival at Bath from the North, the Marquess of Hertford proceeded to take counsel with the leading people of the county, who were there assembled for the Assizes. Some plan of action had to be agreed, and the place in which he could take up his quarters with the best prospects of influencing the people in favour of the King had to be selected. There were great difficulties before him, as events proved.

The old county families of Somerset were for the most part well affected, but there was a large and powerful class of minor gentry, who had gained affluence and position by successful farming and the clothing and other trades, which it was certain would take side with the Parliament. This party was well disciplined and well organised. It was prompt to decide and prompt to act, whereas the proceedings of the Cavaliers were dilatory and wanting in secrecy. Moreover, the Commission of Array had been used vigorously to stir up public feeling against the King. The people did not understand it. Such a thing had never been known in the memory of living man. Its purpose was misrepresented, and rumour grew upon rumour until alarm and apprehension became general. This was the state of things the Marquess had to meet. If he had to back up argument by force, he was but ill provided. He had a troop of horse raised by Mr. John Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, another raised by Sir Francis Hawley of Buckland, Sir Ralph Hopton's own troop of horse and dragoons, and about a hundred foot collected by Colonel Henry Lunsford. Others came in later, but this was his initial strength. At first Bristol was proposed as his headquarters, but the plan was given up. Important as that city was, it was outside Somerset. It would, it was thought, be evidence of weakness to put themselves into a walled town. Moreover, there was great doubt about the character of the reception which the King's party would receive, having regard to the influence possessed by Parliament in that city. So Bristol was given up, and Wells was chosen as a pleasant place, well situated in the centre of the county. Thither the Marquess of Hertford directed his steps.

Soon after he had settled himself there, news reached him of an intended meeting of the leaders of the opposite party at

Shepton Mallet. Sir Ralph Hopton and other gentlemen, with some escort, were sent to that place. It was at first intended, apparently, to disperse the meeting by force, but at the last moment orders were sent that peaceful means only should be employed. We have a detailed account of what actually happened. The Cavaliers were driven back to Wells, whither they were followed in a few days by Sir John Horner, Mr. Alex. Popham, and others with a large force. The conflict at Shepton Mallet was the beginning of the war in Somerset.

The Marquess of Hertford was not in strong enough force to hold Wells. He retreated by way of Somerton to Sherborne Castle, whither he was followed by the Parliament forces, now largely reinforced by the Earl of Bedford. After several unsuccessful attempts to reduce that place, the besieging army retired to Yeovil. Meanwhile Portsmouth, which had been holding out under Goring for the King, was surrendered. The Marquess of Hertford having, therefore, to abandon the plan he had formed of marching to its relief; and, fearing an addition to the force of the Parliament in the West to the extent of the troops set free in Hampshire, resolved to make an effort to place himself in a position to co-operate with the King. He was further urged to this project by the growth of the Parliamentary party in Somerset, and his growing inability to obtain recruits upon whom he could rely. He made his way accordingly to Minehead, closely followed by the Earl of Bedford. There he and Hopton parted. Hertford, with most of his force, got across into Glamorgan, leaving Hopton with a small body of horse to find his way into Cornwall, to endeavour to raise that county for the King. Bedford considered he had done enough. He had broken up the Royalist force, and, treating Hopton's party as an insignificant item which might be left to be dealt with by the county committees, joined his force to that of the Earl of Essex, then operating against the King's main army.

Sir Ralph Hopton and his men were helped by Sir Bevil Grenville of Stow to reach the western part of Cornwall, the Parliamentary party, under the leadership of Sir Alexander Carew and Sir Richard Buller, both members of the House of Commons, being very strong in other parts. The party concentrated at Launceston, as the place best fitted, in their judgment, to hold Hopton in check. A smaller force occupied Saltash, and threw up defences about it. At this time Michaelmas

Quarter Sessions met at Lostwithiel, and the Parliamentary leaders took advantage of the opportunity to attack their adversaries in a way which at least was ingenious. They caused a presentment to be made against divers men unknown for coming armed into the county *contra pacem*, etc. The Royalists retaliated by bills of indictment against Carew, Buller, and the rest of the committee for unlawful assembly at Launceston, and for riots and misdemeanors against the King's subjects. Hopton came forward voluntarily and stood his trial at Truro, to which place the sessions had been adjourned, and was triumphantly acquitted. The petty jury which tried him even went so far as to declare that it was a great favour and justice of his Majesty to send down aid to them who were already marked out to destruction. This being the temper of the assembly, it is not surprising that an order was made on the Sheriff to levy the *posse comitatus* and proceed to disperse the "unlawful assembly" at Launceston. This was exactly what Hopton wanted. The people of Cornwall, we are told by Clarendon, had a "wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court, yet a full submission and love of the established government of Church and State." They were, in effect, great sticklers for legality and forms. Here, then, forms were observed. The county in Quarter Sessions had pronounced the gathering at Launceston to be unlawful, and proper to be suppressed. The Sheriff was acting with full authority in calling out the *posse*. The wavering and doubtful of the countryside were impressed and strengthened in the belief that the King had the right on his side, and some three thousand men were speedily on the move to Launceston. This, as Clarendon says, was the foundation of all the great service that was performed in Cornwall. By no other means could Hopton have raised such a force so quickly.

The Parliament's forces at Launceston perceived plainly enough that they could not hold the place. So soon as Hopton with the Sheriff's *posse* came in sight they withdrew and made their way, through Devon, to Plymouth. Hopton was at first disposed to follow, but he saw difficulties, not the least of which was that the *posse* could not be drawn out of the limits of the county. He took steps instead to raise an army, and here he was warmly helped by the leading gentlemen of

the West. Meanwhile he took possession of Saltash, which was not strongly defended, and, being just within the county boundary, could be attacked by his force. Thus he became master of the whole of the county of Cornwall, and the *posse comitatus* was dispersed.

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Between this and the next movement of conspicuous importance Hopton was kept busy. There was fighting in a small way around Plymouth, where Slingsby was in command, with a visit by his chief and some of the train-bands to establish him. There was the invitation from the gentlemen of Devon to conjoint action, with a promise to follow Cornwall's example and levy the *posse*. Hopton accepted the invitation, and moved to Tavistock, notwithstanding Colonel Savery's attempt to prevent him. The gentlemen of Devon, however, protested that they could not do much while Plymouth remained in the enemy's hands. So to Modbury went Hopton with his volunteers, only to be disappointed by the *posse* of Devon that was promised. "It was rather like a great fair than a *posse*, there being none but the gentlemen that had any kind of armes or equipage for war." To guard the town at night only twenty armed men could be got together, "nor as much as a patrol of twenty horse to ride out, all the gentlemen of the country being so transported with the jollity of the thing that no man was capable of the labour and care of discipline." This was rather a common failing amongst the Cavaliers—a tendency to make too little of their adversaries. The Parliamentarians were not so light-hearted, but they had their trials of another kind, as our documents show. The little force had designs on Dartmouth, but, as might be expected, Ruthven at Plymouth was too much for them. He made a swift descent upon them, beat them, secured Dartmouth, compelling part of the army to Totnes, the rest remaining at Plympton. From Totnes an unsuccessful attempt was made upon Exeter. Ruthven was again too strong for them.

From Exeter the King's force retired upon Launceston. Thence Hopton was summoned to Saltash again, where there was more fighting, to be soon followed by a letter from the Council of War at Launceston warning him that the enemy was too strong at Plymouth, and urging retirement. He accepted the advice, and fell back upon Liskeard, whither he was followed by Ruthven, who did not wait for the Earl of Stanford to come

up with him pursuant to the Parliament's plan. Hopton seized the opportunity. His Cornishmen, who had been mutinous at Saltash, recovered their spirit, and upon Bradock Down he routed his opponent utterly. Stamford retreated, followed by some of the Cavaliers, until they were checked by Sir John Northcote at Chagford, where they lost Sydney Godolphin, "as perfect and absolute a piece of virtue as ever our nation bred." The rest of the Cornish army invested Plymouth.

Here an attempt was made to arrive at an understanding, but after much negotiation the treaty fell through. After the Chagford business the Royalists at Modbury and Plympton were driven to retire. They joined the body from Saltash, and the whole marched towards Tavistock. An armistice followed, intermediated by Mr. Nicholas Trefusis. It was used on both sides to strengthen their positions in contemplation of the failure of the negotiations for a definite treaty, as actually happened. Hopton was now at Launceston with his army, and an attempt was made upon him in which the Parliament's force was beaten off. A few days afterwards the Cavaliers were beaten in their turn by young Chudleigh at Sourton Down. The intended march into Devon had to be given up, and Hopton found himself back again in Launceston.

Some news was brought that the Earl of Stamford was advancing and had reached Stratton. It was resolved at once that at all costs he must not be allowed to get further into Cornwall. The Cornish army received its orders and moved cautiously towards the enemy. At Efford a Council of War was called. The decision was, if they would not "unavoidably perish," to attack Stamford, who was strongly posted on Stratton Down, before his horse, which he had detached to Bodmin, could rejoin him. The attack was made, and Stratton fight ended in the overwhelming defeat of Stamford.

The close of the year 1642 found the King established at Oxford. His plan of campaign hitherto had not been successful. He found another plan. London was, of course, his objective. The Earl of Newcastle, with the army of the North, was to move south through Essex, and command the northern bank of the Thames Estuary. Hopton was to secure the southern bank by an advance through the southern counties. In this way all approach to London by water was to be stopped. The King, from his position at Oxford, could make the direct attack. This,

broadly speaking, was the new plan ; but it could not be carried out. As the days moved on, Newcastle became so hampered in the north by Fairfax, with Hull untaken, that he could not move southwards. Hopton, as we have seen, was checked at Plymouth. The King himself was not in better plight, for the enemy, directed by the indefatigable Waller, was in force on his rear. Accordingly orders went from Oxford to Hopton to get into touch with the King. The Parliament soon had the news from the papers captured at Sourton Down, if not from other sources, and was on its guard. After Stratton fight, Hopton advanced by Exeter into Somerset again, notwithstanding orders to intercept him, and in June, 1643, we find him at Chard, where he effected a junction with the Marquess of Hertford, his old leader, and Prince Maurice.

The united forces of the Army of the West now amounted to 8000 foot, 4000 horse, and 600 dragoons, with 31 or 32 guns. These are Hopton's figures. The first move was to Taunton, where there had been a considerable gathering of Parliamentarians in anticipation of the advance northwards of the Cornish army. The town was occupied without trouble, the enemy falling back in haste on Bridgwater, which place in its turn was evacuated and promptly occupied by the Royalists. Thus two out of the three marked strongholds of the Parliament in West Somerset were gained. The third, Dunster Castle, was added in a few days. Mr. Luttrell, who had refused permission to the Marquess of Hertford to occupy it when the army was at Minehead, was won over by Mr. Francis Wyndham. The Marquess of Hertford stayed at Taunton long enough to settle the garrisons, and having appointed Sir John Stawell Governor of Taunton, Colonel Edward Wyndham, then High Sheriff of the county, Governor of Bridgwater, and Sir Francis Wyndham Governor of Dunster Castle, he set out for Somerton to seek the Parliament force. It was found at Glastonbury, from which place it retired over Mendip, followed, with frequent skirmishes, as far as Chewton by the Royalists. Here the pursuit ceased. The Western Army re-occupied Wells, and rested there for ten days or so to refresh. From Wells their route lay through Frome to Bradford-on-Avon.

Here began another period almost if not more important to the King's cause than the march through Stratton. Within a few days were fought the battles of Lansdown and Roundway

Down. The advance from Bradford, when Hopton came into touch with Waller's army from Bath, to the total rout of the latter at Roundway Down, is described with much detail in Hopton's narrative and by Colonel Slingsby. The Parliament forces were weak, how weak will be seen from the letters printed in this volume. Waller had to draw largely upon the garrison at Bristol to support him in his attempt to stop the advance of the Army of the West towards Oxford. He made a carefully planned attempt to stay the Royalists at Monkton Farleigh, and Claverton, but when the King's forces got through the valley to Batheaston he had to fall back upon Lansdown. Hopton tried to gain this ridge from the south, but had to retire on Marshfield. His next effort met with more success. He approached Lansdown from the north, over Tog hill, and compelled Waller to leave his entrenchments. These movements are fully described by Hopton and Slingsby, and the plan¹ of the district in this volume will help the reader. Waller followed Hopton closely as the latter moved from Marshfield after Lansdown fight, through Chippenham to Devizes, but when he was beaten at Roundway Down he could no longer hope to hold both Bath and Bristol. The former was left to be occupied by the Marquess of Hertford, and the fugitives from Roundway Down took refuge in Bristol. While resting at Bath, arrangements were made with Prince Rupert for a joint attack upon Bristol. Prince Rupert with his force was to attack on the Gloucestershire side of the city. The attack on the Somerset side was to be made by the Marquess and Prince Maurice. On the 24th July, 1643, the siege began. On the 26th the defences between Brandon Hill and the Mill fort were penetrated by Rupert's men, yet not without the assistance, so Hopton tells us, of 1000 musketeers of the Western Army. The next day the city was surrendered. The attack on both sides had been made with great spirit, and the loss of men was unusually heavy. The Western Army lost some of its best officers, amongst them Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel John Trevanion, "the life and soul of the Cornish regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated." So, and much more to the like

¹ This plan is reproduced, by permission, from that used to illustrate the paper contributed by the Very Rev. T. W. Jex-Blake, D.D., Dean of Wells, to the Somersetshire Archeological and Natural History Society, and printed in vol. xli. of the Proceedings of that Society.

effect, wrote Clarendon. With Prince Rupert there fell Colonel Henry Lunsford, Colonel Moyle, and Lord Grandison, and several others of note were wounded.

So soon as the Royalists had established themselves within the city an unfortunate difference arose between the Marquess of Hertford and Prince Rupert. The former, by virtue of his office as General of the Western Army and also as Lord Lieutenant, had appointed Hopton to be Governor of the garrison. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, upon sending news of the capture of the place to the King, had asked to be appointed to the post, and the King, not knowing of any disposition by the Marquess or of any wish on his part in the matter, had at once consented to his nephew's request. Some jealousy had long existed between the King's nephews and the Marquess of Hertford, the former deeming it unbecoming that a nephew of the King, Prince Maurice, should serve in a subordinate capacity as Lieutenant-General to Hertford. The dispute caused great embarrassment to the King, so great indeed that he was driven to visit Bristol in person to compose it, having first written a conciliatory letter to Hopton, which is printed in full in the relation. On his arrival he discussed the matter privately with the persons interested. He quieted rather than satisfied Hertford, and induced Rupert to help him out of his difficulty. The King's solution was to appoint Hopton as Lieutenant-Governor under Rupert, who encouraged Hopton to accept the post, hinting that he, Rupert, would be soon away, and in any case would leave the substance of the control to him. Hopton hesitated, but yielded. He felt there was no other way out of the difficulty. So the matter ended. Charles returned to Oxford, taking Hertford with him, and Hopton remained at Bristol with some "ragged regiments to begin a garrison." Rupert marched off with the rest of his troops to Gloucester, and Prince Maurice set out for Dorchester and thence to Exeter with what remained of the Western Army.

Sir Ralph Hopton, as we call him, or Lord Hopton as he then was, had started on troublous ways. Within ten days his slender garrison was reduced by the dispatch to Gloucester siege of 500 musketeers, pursuant to the King's order. Within another eight days a second command came for as many men as could be spared, and 2,400 more men went to the same place. A little before the battle of Newbury a third order came, this time commanding the presence of Hopton himself, with all the men he

could bring. Hopton received the order between eight and ten o'clock in the forenoon, and in the afternoon of the same day he set out with all the garrison except 1200 men to join the King at Newbury. He halted that night at Marshfield, and on his arrival next day at Marlborough he heard the news of the King's defeat and retirement to Oxford. He went at once to the King, leaving his men behind to return later to Bristol. At Oxford he received instructions to take the field again, this time in Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, and so work his way towards London. Lord Crawford's division was joined with him in this expedition. He returned to Bristol to make his preparations, and having collected his forces, augmented by the arrival of two regiments from Ireland, hardy and well-officered, but much inclined to mutiny, set out on what proved to be an anxious if not disastrous enterprise. If he had been left to follow his own judgment he would first have set about the reduction of some of the Parliament's holds in Wiltshire. But his hand was forced. Sir William Ogle, without his knowledge and untimely for his plans, had surprised Winchester, where Hopton was ordered to reinforce him without delay. He made the best provision he could to meet emergencies in Wiltshire and Dorset, and made his way towards Winchester. Now he had his old opponent Waller to deal with, and Waller, able tactician as he undoubtedly was, with the double incitement of a defeat to be wiped out, was not likely to be taken at advantage. He gave Hopton much trouble. He made efforts to take Basing house, and Hopton was called in to help the defenders. Then he played with Hopton about Farnham, and swooping suddenly on Alton, where Lord Crawford was posted, beat him handsomely. The conduct of the Irish regiments did not mend, and severe remedies had to be applied. The winter was come, to make matters worse. Hopton sought to keep a way open into Sussex, and with that object he gave orders that Cowdray house near Midhurst, which commanded the road, should be occupied. His opponent divined the plan, and Hopton was forestalled. Then came the trouble at Arundel. Hopton secured the town and castle, but what with the incompetence of his officers and their internal dissensions, and the straits to which the garrison had become reduced, its recapture was an easy task.

After the fall of Arundel, Hopton made his way back to Winchester, and busied himself with the task of recruiting and

providing for his army. The King sent him orders to fall back upon Marlborough. To this command Hopton ventured to suggest that as Waller had been for some time weatherbound at Arundel and there was every prospect of a continuance of the snowy weather, there was no pressing need for his departure. He pointed out further that to abandon Winchester would mean its occupation by Waller, who would then have the plain of Wiltshire at his pleasure. Accordingly the King left it to Hopton's discretion to determine the time of his march, and soon after sent Lord Forth, called in the relation by his later title of the Earl of Brentford, with two thousand men to reinforce him. Hopton met Forth at Newbury, escorted him to Winchester, and by the way thither persuaded him to take in effect the chief command. About the same time Waller was reinforced by Sir William Balfour with twelve hundred horse and dragoons. The armies were now ready for the struggle which was to prove the end of Hopton's western campaign.

Waller was now free to move. He advanced towards Winchester as far as West Meon and Warnford. Here he was faced by the King's forces, which had drawn out of Winchester to meet him. Hopton suspected that Waller would move to his right, and take possession of Alresford, an important position commanding the road from Winchester to London. He took steps at once to be beforehand, and narrowly succeeded. For the last mile and half of the march into Alresford the Royalists and Parliamentarians were moving in parallel columns in full view of one another with but a mile interval between them. This was on the 27th of March. The next day was spent in manœuvres, and on the 29th of March the battle of Alresford was fought. With Slingsby's account in this volume of the fight will be found a plan of the field. The Royalists were beaten. Their retreat, however, was skilfully conducted, and without further loss. Basing was reached in the small hours of the morning, and after resting for the day the army marched to Reading.

This was the last march of Hopton in command of what remained of the army of the West. His little force was absorbed into the army under the King, in which Hopton was appointed to a subordinate command.

SOME LEADING DATES.

1642—	
Aug. 1.	The beginning of the war in Somerset with the affair at Shepton Mallet.
„ 6.	Lord Hertford and Hopton retire from Wells towards Sherborne.
„ 22.	The King raises his Standard at Nottingham.
Sept. 26-27.	Lord Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton part company at Minehead.
Nov. 21.	Hopton before Exeter. Sortie of the garrison.
1643—	
Jan. —	Hopton crosses the Tamar into Cornwall, before Lord Stamford.
„ 19.	Battle of Bradock Down.
April 25.	Hopton defeated at Sourton Down.
May 16.	Royalist victory at Stratton.
June —	Sir Ralph Hopton joins Lord Hertford and Prince Maurice at Chard.
„ —	Taunton, Bridgwater, and Dunster Castle occupied by the Royalists.
„ 10.	Fight at Chewton Mendip.
July 3.	Hopton engages Waller at Monkton Farleigh.
„ 5.	Battle at Lansdown.
„ 13.	Battle of Roundway Down.
„ 27.	Surrender of Bristol.
Sept. 20.	First battle of Newbury.
Nov. 7.	Waller attacks Basing House.
„ 28.	Waller repulses Hopton at Farnham.
Dec. 9.	Arundel Castle surrenders to Hopton.
„ 13.	Waller defeats Lord Crawford at Alton.
1644—	
Jan. 6.	Arundel Castle surrendered to Waller.
March 29.	Defeat of the Royalists at Alresford.

SIR RALPH HOPTON'S CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST

(1642 to 1644).

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 23, NO. 1738 (1).

IT was the next morning after the returning from the famous exploit of burning the first windmills at Hull (celebrated by the renowned Poet Henry Martin) being Tuesday the . . . day of June¹ . . . about 10. of the clock when the Marquesse of Hertford (having his Majesties commission to bee Lieutenant Generall of the Sixe Western Counties vizt. Southampton, Wiltes, Dorsett, Cornewall, Devon, Somersett, and of the Countyes of the Cyties of Bristoll and Exon, and of the Towne of Poole) accompanied with his brother the Lord Seymour, Sir Ralph Hopton, and some other Gentlemen, attended onely with their ordinary retinue sett forth from Beverly towards the west making noe considerable staye, nor encountering any considerable accident till they came to Marleborough, which Towne (being the Marquesse of Hertfords land and in it the Lord Seymours house of ordinary residence) to expresse their affections as well to their Lord, as to their Prince, prepared to enterteyne him with a tumult, rysing, just as the Marquesse was within view of the Towne, and in a Rebellious manner breaking open the Church-doores, and possessing themselves of the County-Magazeene that was there kept; But assoone as the Marquesse was come to Towne and alighted at the Lord Seymour's house, the Corporation attended their Lordships with a dissembling submission,

¹ "I am with all speed to repair unto the West, to put His Commissions of Array in execution which I make no doubt to perform without any great difficulty."—Lord Hertford to the Queen from Beverley, 11 July, 1642. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 109, No. 24.) "June" seems to be an error. Lord Hertford's commission bore date the 2 August, yet he was in Somerset by the end of July.

but made noe restitution of the Magazeene, and the Lords having noe considerable strength, about them, did wisely passe it over, hoping by gentle meanes to reduce them to their duties;¹

Having rested there one day, they went from thence to Bathe, where they found the Summer Assises beginning, and a great assembly of Gentlemen, the most part of the better sort verie well affected; but Sandford the high Sheriffe, guided by an indiscreete sonne, quickly discovered his treacherous intentions, notwithstanding hee had before given great assurances of fidelity to some Gentlemen of worth of that County. There it was consulted in what place the Marquesse should beginne his worke, whither at Bristoll, or at Wells; And by reason so many of the principall Gentlemen of Somerset-shire appeared so franckly and cordiallie in the busines, and it was hoped by their power and dependences that that County would bee easely drawn to give an eminent testimony of their fidelity, Wells (lying in the middest of that County) was unhappily chosen. And on . . . the Marquesse removed from Bathe to Wells and was mett by a considerable number of people of all quallities upon Mendhipp, amongst which there were twenty eight of the principall Gentlemen of that County, the Lord Powlet (which was then the onely Nobleman that dwelt in that County) being one.

At Wells they consulted of their busines, and the Marquesse directed his order to the Colonell of the next traind-band (being Sir Edward Rodney) to drawe in his Regiment. But that which conduced most to give the Marquesse some beginning of force was, that Lieut.-Colonell Henry Lunsford was come to him with Officers for a Foote Regiment and Commission from the King to raise for his Brother Sir Thomas Lunsford a Regiment of Foote in that County, in hope that hee should

¹ "Upon the twenty-eight of July there a messenger came to the House of Commons informing them that the Marquesse of Hartford, and the Lord Seymour, have made great disturbance in Wiltshire by endeavouring to get the Commission of Array in execution and in attempting to seise upon their Magazine, but they were opposed and most couragiously resisted by the greatest part of the County. Therefore there is no question but the ordinance of Parliament will be obeyed in that County, by reason they stand generally affected to the Commonweale, and will by no meanes give way nor suffer the Commission of Array shall bee put in execution. Therefore it is thought that his Maiesty will goe in person to that County for it is credibly reported that is resolved to come."—"Dreadfull Newes from Wiltshire and Norfolk," etc., 1642. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 109, No. 15.)

there recover the most part of his old Regiment which hee had there rayased for his Majesties service in the north, two yeares before; towards the arming of whom, a party was sent to Wincanton with caryages, that fetch'd from thence a magazene of armes that had been deposited there a yeare or two before. There were likewise three troopes of Horse then levyed in the country whereof two (by commission from his Majestie to bee of the Lord Grandeson's Regiment) commanded by Mr. John Digby, and Sir Francis Hawley, the other was a troope intirely rayased by Sir Ralphe Hopton, at his owne private charge for his Majesties service. These leavyes did furnishe the Lord Marquesse within foure or five dayes with . . . hundred armed foote and about . . . horse: The County Magazene then in the Towne furnished him with ammunition. Besides there appeared of Sir Edward Rodneys Regiment neere about . . . hundred men, well armed, but not so well resolved for they stode not by him, when there was occasion. Other propositions were made that the twenty eight Gentlemen would underwrite for a certaine number of Horse and Dragoones armed and appointed to bee speedely levyed and ledd by themselves, which might within few dayes easely have increased his force to . . . a number at that tyme sufficient to disperse any opposicion, but the error of uneffective and unfinished consultations began betymes, and hath to[o] constantly attended the busines throughout. The Enemy play'd their Game shrewdly, endeavouring, (which they afterwards in some measure effected) to rayse the Country secretly, and in an instant, with intencion from East and West to surround the Marquesse att Wells.

Sir Ralph Hopton received Advertisement that the disaffected Gentlemen of the Easterne Dyvision of that County (which were principally Sir John Horner and Mr. Popham) had sent out their Tickets about the Country for a generall meeting at Shepton-Mallet with their armes upon the Munday following, and that they would send severall fatt buckes thither to entertaine them; and some of the Ticketts were brought in, which hee presently imparted to the Lord Marquesse and the rest of the Gentlemen having a more serious consideracion of the consequences of it, then, for the present, hee could prevayle with them to entertaine. But the Sunday morning following the allarum came in more briskly represented by a Petition of the most part, at least the best part of Shepton-Mallett, earnestly

praying protection from the dangerous tumultuary-convention that was like to bee there the next day: The expedient resolved on was, that Sir Ralph Hopton accompanied with Sir Fardinando George, [Gorges¹] and Mr. Thomas Smyth of Ashton, and attended with his owne troope, and as many other voluntiers well appointed as would goe, was desired to goe to Shepton-Mallett the next morning early, and taking occasion to call the Inhabitants together concerning their Petition to rayse that Towne, which was conceived eightscore or 200 honest men well arm'd, and therewith to discountenance and prevent the Assembly, this hee did accordinglie, but through the slack appearance of many of the voluntiers that should have gone with him, hee came not into Shepton-Mallett till about 10 or 11 of the clock. And such was the nicenes of men in that tyme, that in the morning upon the way, Mr. Thomas Smyth (who was one of his company) brought him a message from all that were then in Councell, that hee should goe into the Towne of Shepton Mallett with none of his troope, but onely with the Gentlemen and Volunteeres and if hee carryed any of his troope into the Towne, they would disclaime the action, soe in obedience to the present necessity hee left his troope at the Townes end, and himselfe with the rest of the Gentlemen, and their ordinary retinue, went into the Towne, where they alighted at the high Crosse in the Markett place, and there sate calling the Towne to them, to examine the busines of the Petition; where verie shortlie after Mr. William Strode, a great stickler for the other party, and a neighbour to the Towne, with a party of some eight, or ten horse, verie well mounted and arm'd for offensive armes ridd up to the place where they sate, and pressing through the crowde of the people, commanded them in the Parliaments name to retire themselves, and forbad the Assembly; whereupon Sir Ralph Hopton rose from the place where he sate, and tooke Mr. Strode of his horse, tooke away his pistolls, and committed him to a Constable, the rest of the Gentlemen and people that were by securing him in the meane tyme from the rest of the party, which presently retired, and so Sir Ralph Hopton and the Gentlemen with him proceeded in their busines, But within a verie short tyme after great numbers of the contrary party, that were then neare the Towne, entered the Towne, so that Sir Raphe Hopton, and the rest of the

¹ In the margin.

Gentlemen that were with him, having noe equall force at all tooke their horses and retired to their troope without the Towne ; but in the instant of that allarum the Constable that had Mr. Strode in keeping proving to bee of his owne party, found a meanes to runne away with him. Sir Raphe Hopton with his troope and rest of his company drawing into the field on the south west side of Shepton Mallett stood and faced that unruly rabble as they were marching into the Towne, and at the same instant the other two troopes came in to him : So the disaffected party seeing three troopes of Horse, and a considerable number of Gentlemen, standing in order, on that side of the Towne, adjourn'd their feast, and drew into the field th'other side of the Towne, and there made a shew of themselves in as good manner as they could, and seem'd to bee above twelve hundred men ; There they stood divers howers but advanced not, But about 4 of the clock in the afternoone they sent two Gentlemen to Sir Ralph Hopton to inquire of the occasion of their being there, and at the same instant Sir Ralph Hopton, received orders from the Lord Marquisse to draw back to Wells ; so hee carried those two Gentlemen with him thither to receive an answer from his Lordshipp. And thus innocentlie beganne this cursed warr in those parts, this being all that passed that day.¹

¹ This is the account given by the Somerset Committee in their letter to Parliament, dated from Shepton Mallet, the 1 Aug. 1642, and signed by "John Horner, Hugh Rogers, Alexander Popham, William Strode, John Pym, Richard Coley, Ro. Harbyn, and John Ashe." After explaining that they had given directions for a meeting at Shepton Mallet to issue warrants to several hundreds for the preservation of the peace requiring them not to obey the Commission of Array they proceed, "but so it was may it please you, that under pretence of a Petition delivered last night to the Lord Marquisse of Hertford in the name of some of this Town gotten by the wicked practises of these Incendiaries, Inhabitants of this town of Shepton Mallet, viz. Richard Board, Hercules Whiting, Nicholas Downton, James Strode, John Walker, and John Coothe the parson . . . insinuating unto the people that our meeting here was to fire their houses and make their streets run with blood ; This morning about eight of the clock Sir Ralph Hopton accompanied with Master Thomas Smith, both Members of your House, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Father in Law to Master Thomas Smith, and a hundred horse at least, with swords and some with pistolls, came into the Market place, pretending to read the said Petition : Master William Strode one of your Deputy Lieutenants lying that night within a mile of the town, and having notice of some tumult in the Town ; Presently himself and his sonne with his Servants, in all but four armed horse, and two unarmed came into the market place, and demanded the reason of the tumult—Whereupon the said Sir Ralph Hopton, Master Smith and Sir Ferdinando Gorges came forth to Master Strode and required him to alight and hear a petition read, to which Master Strode replied that he came not to hear Petitions, but to suppress insurrections and Tumults and required as one of the Committee of both Houses the said three gentlemen and

The Lord Marquesse Hertford with the advice of the Lords and Gentlemen there present with him thought fitt to issue out warrants in the Country for the calling of the Western train'd

the rest to depart the Town as they would answer it at their perils ; Whereupon the said Sir Ralph Hopton laid hold upon Master Strodes person and his horse, with the assistance of Master Smith and arrested Master Strode of suspition of Treason, endeavouring to pull him from his horse, which he endeavouring to avoyde, Sir Ferdinando Gorge strook at him with a halberd and divers of their Cavaliers drew their swords and held the points towards his Body and forced him to alight. . . . Then the said Sir Ralph Hopton read the . . . petition and called for men to make it good but there only appeared the abovesaid Nicholas Downton, which they required Master Strode to take notice of to which Master Strode replyd that the said Downton was one of the Incendiaries of the said Town as they were of the Country and of the Parliament and did again require them . . . to depart the town and bid the people obey the King as he was guided and counselled by the Parliament and not as he was guided and counselled by evil Counsellors, from whom came this Commission of Array, both illegal and destructive to the Kingdom." Strode was then handed over to the Constable, who desired to go to Lord Hertford. "In this passage word was brought to Sir Ralph Hopton that the Countrey was coming in upon him ; whereupon they seeming to be amazed and severing themselves, went down the street and took horse and rid to the Swan at the other end of the Town, the place appointed to meet the other Deputy-Lieutenants but none were yet come, whereupon he rid out of the Town to meet some of them, having set a good guard for the safety of the Town." He met some of the Deputy-Lieutenants, and returned with them to the Market place, "whence Sir Ralph Hopton, Master Smith and Sir Ferdinando Gorges and their company were departed and gone in haste a mile out of the Town and with them all the Incendiaries above named together with one Tho: Strode a new Captain of Sir Ed. Rodneys where they endeavoured to raise all the Country about them to surprise us and did raise many men and divided themselves in Troops or Companies having sent both over night and that morning post to Sherborn to Captain John Digby to bring his troop of Horse to assist them which he did accordingly ; but meeting about three miles from this Town some of their own Troops, he was advised to leave Shepton and go to Wells which he did with his Troops." The writers then report that the people came in without any request, both horse and foot, "that before noon were above 2000 horse though most unarmed and about 100 foot." All these were there and then put under Mr. Henry Sanford, "eldest son to the High Sheriff having his father's authority himself being weak and sickly" as *posse Comitatus*. They sent a mes-age by Mr. Wm. Long and Mr. Lawrence Bull to Sir Ralph Hopton demanding the reason for his coming with force. Sir Ralph took the messengers to Wells to the Marquess of Hertford, who returned this answer in writing through the former: "My Lord Marquesse being informed of a great assembly to meet at Shepton in Armes this day, not knowing any cause of such meeting sent me and some other Justices of the Peace in order to the peace of this County to know the Cause of such meeting and to prevent the disturbance of the peace." Lord Hertford also gave them the following written message: "I understand there is a great assembly of armed men now at Shepton which I conceive is unlawfull and desire to know by what authority they are met, for that as yet it seems to me a great violation of the peace of this County and the Kingdom to appeare so armed and to receive their answer." To this the Committee replied: "After we understood that my Lord Marquesse of Hertford came into this country with companies of armed men to put in execution the Commission of Array which is illegal and setting himself at Wells whither resorted many men in Armes, both Horse and Foot, we to preserve the peace of this County came this day to Shepton Mallet." The Committee further report to

band Regiments to Wells for their common defence as also to draw together what Voluntiers could suddenly bee gotten for that service, so hee commanded Mr. Ames Poulett youngest sonne to the Lord Poulett and Mr. John Stowell, and Mr. Edward Stowell, sonnes to Sir John Stowell, to goe forthwith to severall houses belonging to their fathers Mr. Poulett to Hinton, Mr. John Stowell to Ham, and Mr. Edward Stowell to Cotheleston, to send out those warrants and to bring with them to Wells, what men, horses, and armes they could; in which they used such dilligence as the third day after they returned all three to Wells, with about fortie Horse, and twenty Dragoones, and a waggon full of armes.

The next day there came some Constables to Wells who advertised the Marquesse that Sir John Stowells Regiment of train'd bands was ready to marche, and desired that some Horse and Dragoones might bee sent to Borrough Bridge to secure that passe; where upon Sir John Stowell was commanded to take Lieutennant Colonel Henry Lunsford with him, and those horse and dragoones that his sonnes had brought the night before, to which were joyned Capt. Digby, and Sir Francis Hawley with part of their troopes, and Mr. Edmund Windham with some other Voluntiers, in all to the number of foure score Horse and Dragoones, with which they marched towards Somerton as farr as Marshalls-Elme, from whence they discovered a body of sixe hundred foote drawn up in a corne field about two miles from them, whereof 400 were drawn out of Taunton by Mr. John Pyne and Captain Preston, and the other 200 were conducted by Mr. Sands out of his neighbourhood South Petherton and the parts thereabouts.

Hereupon Lieut. Col. Lunsford drew the Horse in a rancke upon the browe of the Hill, so that their thinnes might not bee perceived by the adverse partie, and at the same tyme they tooke a country fellow who having informed them of the

Parliament that the Mayor of Wells had delivered the keys of the magazine there to "Sir Francis Doddington a delinquent." They say further that they had ordered "the mustering of two regiments on Friday next at Chewton upon Mendip within three miles of Wells," and had sent to Bristol for "two field peeces of about 6 pound bullet which wee conceive very necessary for the present occasion." After this report the Parliament, on the 5th Aug., 1642, resolved that Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Thos. Smith and Capt. John Digby "be disabled to sit as Members of the House of Commons," and that they and Sir F. Gorges, Sir F. Doddington, Board, Whiting, Downton, Stroud, Walker, and Cooth be arrested as delinquents. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 109, No. 24.)

number of the disaffected party, and the names of their Commanders, confest that hee had bene sent by Mr. William Strode (who was then at Streete) to Mr. John Pine, and the rest of the Commanders to lett them know that their army was already possest of Mendip-hills above Wells, and that they must needs advance with their men to Glastenbury that night, that they might possesse the great high-way between Glastenbury and Wells, and surround the Marquesse and his Company, that the horse they saw were not above fyftie, and therefore they might easily breake through them. About an houre after they tooke an other who confirmed the same relacion; Sir John Stowell then sent a messenger to Mr. Pyne in a message, desiring that hee with two such others as hee should choose, would meete him, Sir John Powlett and Sir Fran: Hawley at an Elme in the midd way betweene them, which Mr. Pyne accepted, and brought with him Capt. Preston and Capt. Sands, and there they had conference, Sir John Stowell using many sober perswasions to them, that they would not by their advancing beginne a civill warr, but prevayled not and so they parted.

Sir John Stowell at his returne found that Lieut. Col. Lunsford had dyvided the horse into three Squadrons, the first to bee commanded by Sir John Stowell stode in the middest of the way and fronted towards the enymie, the second by Capt. Digby which flancked the way on the right hand, and the third by Sir Fran: Hawley which flancked the way on the left hand, yett were so advantageouslie placed by meanes of the uneavennes of the ground that the enemy discovered no part of them but their heads and some of their swords: The Dragoones (being 14) he drew into two dyvisions, and placed them in two quarry-pitts, which the deepe hollow way dyvided 150 paces before the horse in the declining of the hill, and Lieutenant Col. Lunsford stode himselfe by them on the mouth of one of the pitts, whom Sir John Stowell directed to call on him, when hee saw tyme for the Horse to charge. The disaffected party gave the leading of their Vand to one Mr. Jo: Osmond (a violent Grandjury man) and Mr. Pyne placed himselfe in the reare of all on horse back, and so they advanced in reasonable good order, and when they came within muskett shott of the Dragoones they began to give fire verie thick, Lieutenant Col. Lunsford lett them come within 120 paces of his Dragoones, and then hee himselfe standing as before, commanded his

Dragoones to give fire, who at their third volley kil'd the foresayd Osmond with a shott in the head, and hurt some of the rest, where upon their whole body appear'd to stagger ; And Sir John Stowell, with Lieut. Col. Lunsfords advice tooke that oportunitie, and with all his horse charg'd them so sharply, as they were quickly broken and routed, Capt. Preston and Capt. Sands both taken, and Mr. Pyne escaped by good horsemanship, there were but seaven kill'd upon the place, but many more hurt, whereof eighteen dyed shortly after ; Sir John Stowell using both his power, and his example to hinder further execucion : So drawing up his horse, hee, with his prisoners, and about sixtie horse that the runnawayes had left behind them, returned to Wells, in some apprehension for Sir Fran: Hawley, Mr. Jo: Stowell, and Sir Fran: Hawleys Lieutenant whom they found missing. But they (not hearing of Sir Jo: Stowells Order) followed the chase as farr as Somerton, and tooke many horses, and armes, and prisoners, which they left at Somerton, and themselves returned safe likewise to Wells about an hower after their party.¹

The Fryday following being . . . [Aug. 5] while the Lo: Marquisse was veiwing Sir Edw: Rodney's traind-bond Regiment in a field by Wells, there were discovered upon the topp of Menhip-hill above the Towne great bodies of men, some horse, but the most part foote, with flying coulours and some peices of iron ordnance which had bene drawen together by Sir Jo: Horner and Mr. Popham, and the rest of the Gentlemen of that party out of the south and east lymitt of Somersetshire, and from Bristoll and other parts, according to the relacion of the countrey men before mencioned that were examined by Sir Jo: Stowell, they were judged to bee about ten or 12 thousand men, and it was about one of the clock in the afternoone when they began to appeare. So it was thought fitt to draw all the foote presently upon the Avenues of Wells (which were immediately barrocadoed up, as well as the tyme would afford) as well Sir Edw: Rodney's train'd band Regiment which were then about . . . as Lieut. Col. Lunsfords new leavyed men which were about twelve-score : The horse and

¹ Another account of the proceedings at Shepton Mallet and Wells, by an anonymous Royalist, is to be found in *King's Pamph.*, E. 112, No. 33 ; it describes Col. Lunsford's ambushade, and refers to the destruction of the stained glass windows at Wells after the evacuation of the Royalists.

the dragoones and the Gentlemen that were voluntiers were drawn out of the Towne towards the Enemy, where they fac'd them upon a litle hill at the foote of the great hill where they were in Batalio, and so after some tyme, and message sent between them, and the evening coming on, there was by the motion of the Gentlemen that came from the disaffected party a truce agreed on for that night till next morning nyne of the clock, by which tyme the enemy were drawn up in the same place they were before, and the Lord Marquesse his horse, were drawn out as before, the foote guards in the Towne continued all the night upon the Barracadoes, saving that the most part of the traind band souldiers had quitted their guards, and their officers in the darke of the night, and had run away. So the Lo: Marquesse found an evident necessitie to retreate, and committed the order of the retreate to Sir Ralph Hopton, who presentlie gave order to the Baggage to make ready and to march away with a part of Lieut: Col. Lunsfords foote towards Glastonbury, and by litle and litle sent of the horse, and the rest of the foote, saving his owne troope, with which hee stode facing the Enemy as before, and Lieutenant. Col. Lunsford with fortie muskettiers, whom he placed upon the Avenues of the Towne next to him, in which order they stode, till two of the clock in the afternoone, by which tyme taking notice that the Marquesse with all the rest were marched off, and that the carryages were cleere past the Moore towards Glastonbury, himselfe marched with his horse, and drew with him Lieutenant. Coll: Lunsford with his foote, and so they all retreated that night to Somerton, and the next night to Sherborne, where the Marquesse advis'd with his counsell of warr concerning the old Castle there to put in the best posture of defence that might bee, and also to increase his men what they could.¹ And thither

¹ Mr. Ash, one of the Somerset Committee, writing from Freshford on the 7th August, 1642, reported that they had on the Friday about "40,000." "Many of these had no more weapons but their swords. . . . There came to us every one of Master Smith's tenants 40 yeomen well armed and all the inhabitants in that quarter where Sir Ralph Hopton liveth unto his very gates." They lay that night upon the hill above Wells, fasting. "Sir John Horner and Master Alexander Popham with his two valiant brothers and Sir John Horner's youngest sonne with many others lay all that night in their Armes upon fursbushes in the open fields the old Knight often saying that his furs-bed was the best that ever he lay upon." Ash says that before they left Chewton they received a message from Lord Hertford to stay there and try to preserve the peace of the County, to which message they had returned an answer. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 111, No. 5. See E. 112, No. 12, for the messages). From the account sent by a soldier in the service of the Parliament we learn that "on the hill

came to him Sir Thomas Lunsford with more of his officers, and Sir John Berkley, Col. Ashburnham, Coll. Lawdy, Mr. Henry Killegrew, and Mr. Sydney Godolphin, and divers other good officers; and there in short tyme hee increased his foote to the number of foure hundred, and Sir Ralph Hopton leavyed a troope of dragoones to the number of forty, arm'd with good fowling peices, and Capt. Upton tooke commission under him for another troope, which hee made about twenty dragoones, The Lord Poulett brought in two little brasse drakes from his house, and the Lord Marquesse being assisted by the rest of the Gentlemen of Somerset-shire (who continued with him) according to the small meanes they had amongst them, put victuall and amunicion into the Castle of Sherborne, but (God knowes) it was a verie inconsiderable proporcion for a siege.¹

There they continued in this manner untill . . . when the Earle of Bedford by commission from the Parliament (assisted with th'aforesayd disaffected Gentlemen of Somersetshire, and the forces they could gett out of the County, and Mr. Hollis and Sir Walter Earle with the power they could make in Dorset-shire, and Sir George Chudleigh Sir Jo: Northcott and other Gentlemen of qualytie with what power they could bring out of Devonshire, in all the number of seven thousand foot, ordered by Capt. Charles Essex as their Major Generall; and

coming off Mendip from Bristow-ward there was Sir Francis Popham and Sir Edward Hungerford with 6000 armed men and two peeces of ordnance which were mounted against the Bishops palace. Betweene Glastonbury and Wells there was Sir Edward Gainton and Sir John Horner with 8000 men or thereabouts. On the hill of the east side between Shepton Mallet and Wells there was Master Pine, Master Cole and Master Strowd with 3000 more and two peeces which they had mounted to command any part of the town where occasion should require." The writer tells us how Sir Francis Popham "caused some shots to be made from Mendip-hill against the Bishop's palace which (by reason of the strength thereof) they had made their quarters," and how the report of the guns "made the Cavaliers bestirre themselves seeing themselves surrounded . . . wherefore they made as if they intended to force a passage towards Glastonbury which caused all our parties of foot to presse up to secure those passages which they seeing with their utmost speed at a passage betweene the wood and us, trooped out upon us, which well they might they being in number much greater and more experienced men both in horsemanship and use of arms, our men being raw and untutored." (*Ibid.*, No. 4.)

¹ Mr. Ash duly advised the Parliament of these movements. He was apprehensive that the King's forces intended to march into Wiltshire from Sherborne, "and that they will very speedily put their commission in execution about Sarum and Warminster." He urged that the Earls of Bedford and Pembroke "be hastened away unto the country with such commanders and other strength as you shall thinke fit to supply us withall. Sir, we are lost and spoyled if we have not commanders." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 112, No. 13.)

about eight troopes of new leavyed horse, commanded by Capt. Pritty, with fower peices of cannon made his randevous first about Wells, and afterwards advanced to Ilchester, and Yeovell, and on Fryday . . .¹ were discovered in Sherborne feild marching in Batalio towards the Towne; whereupon the Lo: Marquesse with all the foote and voluntiers betooke himselfe to the Castle; and Sir Ralph Hopton (who had then commission for Lieut. Generall of his Horse) and Sir John Berkley (who was Major Generall) drew out the Horse and dragoones, and such voluntiers as presented themselves (which made a verie good troope under Mr. Edward Stowell) advanced through the Towne towards the Enemy to observe their countenance, and found them in those dayes so faire conditioned, as entertayning skirmish with them till the evening, they tooke divers prisoners in the very face of their army, and (which was yett more strange) diverted the whole army from lodging in any part of that great open Towne, so as in the evening they drew towards the north and encamped themselves in the feild about three quarters of a mile north from the Castle. Which encouraged Sir Ralph Hopton and the rest of the officers with him to draw three hundred foote out of the Castle, with which they possessed the Towne, and made good the Avenues towards the Army. Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkley, Coll: Ashburnham, who had the commission for Major Generall of the foote, and Coll: Lawdy abyding constantly with the guards in the Towne, two of them alwayes resting while th'other two went the rounds, and so they passed the first night. The next morning being Saturday about 8. of the clock the Enemy having made their batterie in the night, played with as much fury as they could with their cannon upon the Towne, and in the meane tyme pressed with their horse lyned with muskettiers to force a passage into the Towne by the large wayes that lay next to them, but Sir Ralphe Hopton with the officers with him having placed many litle guards of muskettiers in the litle gardens that flanked their wayes, and being ready alwayes with the Horse to repulse them, beate them alwayes of with losse

¹ This was the 6th September. The Earl of Bedford came into the County on Sunday, 25th Aug. He lay that night at Wells where he remained until Saturday 31st Aug. when he marched to Glastonbury. There he rested until Tuesday 3rd Sept. when he marched to Ilchester. On Thursday 5th Sept. he proceeded to Yeovil and on Friday to the hills above Sherborne. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 116, No. 48.)

though they continued their attempts that day till fower of the clock in the afternoone, their cannon continually playing, They made likewise many shott upon the Castle (whereof Sir Thomas Lunsford had the command) but to noe effect, their batterie being so farr of; so in the evening they retyred to their Campe, and the officers within the Towne placed their guards, the Foote within the Towne and the Horse without towards the Enemy. That night Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir John Berkley with a small partie of Horse and Dragoones goeing about 12 at night to view the guards, being desirous to see how they would receive an allarum, beate in their Horse guards and caused their dragoones to fire upon their Court of guard¹ whereby they put them into a verie confus'd allarum, and finding their temper allarum'd them everie night in the like manner as long as they stayed before them.

On Sunday it was discerned from the Castle that they had begun some worke in the field over against the Castle about a muskett shott nearer then the former batterie, whereby it was easely conjectured that they intended the next night to finish a battery in that place, so Sir Thomas Lunsford giving the Lord Marquesse and the rest of the officers notice of his purpose in the evening before it was night planted the smale gunnes hee had (being the two drakes, and one great fowling peice of Sir John Stowells upon carryages) upon that new broken ground, and in the dead of the night gave fyer to them altogether, which did some smale execution upon some, but cast such a fright upon the rest, that it was credibly reported, eight hundred of their foote, ran away from them that night, and the whole Campe was so discouraged, and indeed, had so little rest, and were so incommodiously quartered, as the next day being Munday, Sir John Northcott came from the Earle of Bedford to the Lo: Marquesse, with an extraordinary propoosition of a Treaty which was in effect that the Marquesse would permitt them to marche off quietly from them, which (though it was a very reasonable request) the Lo: Marquesse refused, and return'd his answere in wryting, that as they came thither upon their owne councells, so they might get off as they could. On Tuesday moining they pull'd downe their tents, spand in their carryages, and tooke their way towards Yeovell, avoyding the

¹ Derived from *Corps de Garde*. Camp guard will probably express the meaning here

ordynary way by the Towne, and marching a mile about over the fields, which the Marquesse with his officers perceiving, drew of all the Horse and Foote, and attended their reare with a warme skirmishe.

That night they quartered at Yeovill 3 miles west of Sherborne, and there remayned quiett the next day ; which the Lord Marquesse understanding, commanded Sir Ralph Hopton, with all the horse and dragoones and sevenscore muskettiers the Thursday following to marche towards their quarters to give him an account of their mocions ; and about two of the clock in the afternoone Sir Raphe Hopton with that party drew out of Sherborne, and marched to Raborn-Hill, which look'd downe upon Yeovill-Bridge, which hee found possest of the Enemy with a guard of foote and cannon, so taking advantage of the ground there being noe comeing up to him from the Enemyes part but by two hollow-wayes on each hand of him, hee placed a guard of twenty muskettiers on the hollow way on his right hand, and with all his dragoones hee lin'd the hedges that flank'd the left hand way, and drawing up the horse in Batalio upon the Hill, with the rest of the muskettiers hee played from the side of the Hill on the guard which was upon the Bridge ; in which posture having spent an houre or more to little effect, hee with the advice of the officers there present with him, resolved to retreat, and accordingly gave order for drawing of the foote to marche away, and the dragoones to marche up to the horse to make good the reare, it being then within half an houre of sunne sett. But the foote were not cleere drawn off the Hill when Coll: Lawdy espyed the Enemy marching out of Yeovell by a secret way that they had made over the fields, and some of their horse were neere gotten up to the topp of the Hill upon the left hand, whereof he presently advertised Sir Ralph Hopton, who upon the view thereof resolved that it was too late to make the retreat, and gave order to Sir Tho: Lunsford there present to drawe back the foote, and himselfe drew up the horse and dragoones towards the part where the enemy was advanceing, commanding Mr. Edw: Stowell with the troope of voluntiers to march up to the entrance of the way where the Enemy was coming up, and his owne troope commanded by Capt. Henr: Moreton to second him, and because they were then both young souldiers (though otherwise very gallant men), Col: Lawdy advanced with them. Next to them hee

commanded Sir Fran: Hawley with his troope, and kept Col: Digbyes troope in reserve: Capt. Stowell charg'd verie gallantly and routed the enemy, but withall (his troope consisting of new horse, and the Enemy being more in number) was rowted himselfe; and Capt. Moreton, being a litle too neere him, was likewise broaken with the same shooke, and the trueth is in verie short tyme, all the horse on both sides were in a confusion: At the same tyme a troope of the Enemyes horse charg'd up in the hollow-way on the right hand, where (Sir Tho: Lunsford having forgotten to put a party of muskettiers as before) they found noe opposicion till they came among the voluntiers upon the topp of the Hill, whereby a very extraordinary accident, Sir James Colborne with a fowling gunne shott at the Captain in the head of the troope, and at the same instant Mr. John Stowell charg'd him single (by which of their hands it was, it is not certaine) but the Captain was slayne, and the troope (being rawe fellowes) immediatly rowted.¹ In this extreame confusion Sir Ralph Hopton was enforced to make good the retreatate with a few officers and Gentlemen that rallied to him, and so sent of his foote, and (by God Almightyes blessing the night coming on) retyred safe to Sherborne with the losse onely of one Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Sergeant of foote, and about yane foote souldyers that were kil'd upon the place, and Major Bampfild taken prisoner. And in this retreatate upon the Hill lighted upon a party of 15 or 16 of the Enemyes foremencioned troope that were rowted upon the right hand, whereof some were kill'd but the most part spared, taken prisoners and brought of to Sherborne.² This ruffe medly gave apprehension

¹ The following extract would appear to relate to this business: "Being arrived here the King understood the news of a second blow given to the Earl of Bedford by the Marquess of Hertford's forces whereof 200 horse and 300 dragoons were sent in pursuit of him and about Evill (Yeovil) met with about a like number. Sir Wm. Balfour's son in a bravado rode out single from his troop brandishing his sword, as if he would dare somebody to combat with him; whereof Colonel Lunsford, giving notice to young Stawell, telling him there was honour for him, he straight made up. Balfour discharged his pistols at some distance, but Stawell reserved his till he might be surer of his mark; which he did so well that he fired the other's buff at his breast, and with a quick blow with his sword made an end of the duel and his adversary, and so returned to his troop full of the honour he went for. . . . The Marquess lost 15 men and the Earl above 100 to whose assistance a body of 2000 foot appearing the Marquess's force retreated in very good order."—Sir Edw. Nicholas to Sir Wm. Boswell, 15 Sept.): *Calr. State P. Dom.*, 1641-3, p. 389.

² Mr. Sampson, a cousin of Mr. Ash, writing from Freshford on the 10th Sept., gives an account of this fight: "The Cavaliers with a great force of horse and

to both parts ; the Lord Marquisse at Sherborne had the good fortune to bee well comforted by the accesse of Mr. Rogers of Breuston, who came in to him that afternoone, with a thouzand foote of the train'd bands of Dorsetshire, but the Enemy liked their bargaine so ill, that they marched cleere away from Yeovill that night or the next morning very early. So the Lo: Marquisse had rest at Sherborne for some . . . weekes after ; during which tyme Sir Richard Cave, Sir Hugh Pollard, Major Walter Slingsby, Major Brockett, and other good officers came in to him.

About . . . the Lo: Marquisse had notice that Sir Jo: Biron had quitted Oxford and was march'd off to the King, which contrary to the Lo: Marquisse his expectacion, who had hopes given him, by a tickett from himselfe, that hee would drawe to him with his forces (being about five hundred Horse) and (Mr. Goring being Governour of Portsmouth and newly declared for the King against the Parliament) about . . . the Marquisse had notice, that hee had lost that Towne to the Enemy ; These two unhappy accidents, contrary to all expectacion necessited the Marquisse and his Councell of warr to take new Councells ; for they well knew that the Enimy in Portsmouth had gain'd a great Magazin of ammunicion, and

3 companies of foot came from Sherborne to the hill over Yeovil about a mile from the towne, whose unexpected appearance put the town in a great hurly-burly ; but after our men had placed their ordnance for the securitie of the town and strengthened them with men, Captain Askew and his troop of horse and Captain Thomson and his troop were sent to the hill. Captain Askew took one way up the hill and Captain Thomson another. Captain Askew was the first who with his small troope charged them so courageously that he went through and through them, killed (as is reported) eight of them and after discharging carbines and pistols fell to work with their swords and so retreated. Captain Askew lost in this conflict three of his men. By this time Captain Thomson charged them on the other side and presently routed them, they taking themselves to their horse heels, the three captains of their foot, young Lunsford fled away upon his horse ; Captain Hussy killed and the third captain taken prisoner. Our men fell upon their foot, killed between thirtie and fourtie ; took many prisoners and but that the night fell dark upon them had cut them all off ; And our horse followed their horse home to Sherborne townes end. We heare that Sir Ralph Hopton is hurt, one of the Bartletts killed and some other of their commanders. This hath a little cooled their insolencies." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 116, No. 48.) This and other accounts give the date as "Wednesday." "A letter written by the Governour of Sherbourn Castle to a worthy friend," signed "T. L." (Thomas Lunsford), puts the Royalist force at 150 horse and 200 foot, of which "we lost but twelve men, Serjeant Major Banfield is taken, Captain Hussey, Lieutent Hall and an Ensigne were killed." The enemy "lost 140 of their men dead on the ground, buried 9 of their Commanders next day in the church." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 118, No. 31.)

ordnance, which was then their onely want, their forces being farr superiour to his, and the Castle of Sherborne being indeed not at all defensible in itselfe nor in any measure provyded for a reall siege.

So on Sunday the . . .¹ calling his Court of warr together upon a very solemne and long debate, it was generally resolved that a retreat was necessary, but whither, it was verie hard to say. It was propounded to retreat acrossse Somersetshire to Ken-house, which being seated about two miles from the hill country, into the Marches, thereby gave the advantage of a strong, and of a rich quarter, not farr from Bristoll whereby any advantage that might bee offer'd, might bee taken upon that Cytie, and at their backes within a mile and halfe, a creeke that fell into the Severne, whereby they might have comunicacion with Wales, all which gave some reasonable assurance of securytie and subsistance for the present, and some glimmering hopes by one accident or other to mend their condicion. And this resolution was taken that night, and Sir Ralph Hopton had present orders to prepare for a generall remove, which was done, and the carryages began to draw out about 8 of the clock in the morning, but the Marquess was that night perswaded by some of the Gentlemen of Somersetshire not to engage his Company in those rotten unhealthy Moores, but to march straight to Myneard,² where hee was assur'd) hee should every Thursday find, of course, Welch-barques enough, to transport him and all his forces into Wales whereof hee advertised Sir Raphe Hopton that Munday morning, who submitted to his commands notwithstanding hee foretold him the most part of the inconveniencies that hee afterwards mett with. It being a much longer marche, and over a verie ill country for carryages, and worst affected to the service Taunton being iust in his way at that tyme a strong Garrison of the Parliaments and Dunster Castle being then held against him, and there being a possibilitie many wayes that his expectacion of Welch-boates might fayle him, which afterwards did, but the Marquesse persisted in his resolution, and marcht that night to Hinton and the parishe there about, the next day they march'd to Bradford, where they quartered just betweene Taunton and Wellington, then both held for the Parliament and the whole country thereabout being

¹ The 20th September.

² Minehead.

in continuall allarum, ringing their bells backward, and making fyres to drawe the people into an uproare. Wednesday night they marched to Stoake-gummer¹ and there quartered, and on Thursday they marched into Mynneard, and quartered in Mynneard and Dunster Towne, but found but two Welch-boates in the Key, and (notwithstanding all the industry that was used) could procure noe more, the malicious activity of the Country being farr more powerfull against them. So having stay'd from Thursday till Saturday, they then had intelligence that the Earle of Bedford had rallyed the power that hee had before Sherborne, and was close advancing towards them; and that after-noone they perceived good full bodies of the Enymie (Horse and Foote) upon the Hill about Watchett within 4. myles of them.²

In this extremity upon Sir Ralph Hopton's advice and request, the Lo: Marquesse with all the Voluntiers, the foote, the baggage, and the drakes, tooke passage for Wales,³ leaving the horse (being about a hundred and ten) and the dragoones (about fyftie) under the command of Sir Ralph Hopton, accompayned with Sir Jo: Berkley, Coll: Ashburnham, Mr. Jo: Digby, Sir Fran: Hawley, Mr. Henr. Killigrew, Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Sir James Colborne, Major Slingsby, and Major Brockett, and some other officers. They marcht immediatly

¹ Stogumber.

² There seems to have been more trouble at Minehead than here appears. The Marquess of Hertford wrote to Sir Ralph Hopton: "I have acquainted His Majesty of our disastrous fortune at Minieard and Dunster, occasioned by the multitude of your countrymens evill dispositions and cowardly behaviour in them." Sir Ralph Hopton in reply endeavours to excuse the cowardice of the Somerset men, and reminds Lord Hertford that the Earl of Bedford was still more unfortunate in the number of fugitives. He answered a question as to the number of his forces by writing that he had 5000 men and upwards in Cornwall. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 126, No. 12.)

On the "25th" Sept. the Royalists approached Minehead. On the "27th Sept." there was a skirmish with the enemy, and the Marquess of Hertford was "forced to put himself in possession of a strong Inne there. . . . The Earle having so closely beset the Inne, the Marquesse dares not look out of doores; but it is supposed that within two or three dayes hunger will bring them out."—"A Perfect Relation," etc. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 240, No. 39.)

³ The Marquess of Hertford, Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, and others to the number of 26 in all, escaped in "some small cole-boats." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 240, No. 39.) "On Friday, Sept. 23 the Maior of Herriford shipped 400 men and 45 of his best horses at Minehead and about 12 o'clock at night set sayle for Wales."—*Ibid.* The "Maior of Herriford" is of course a misprint. "Sept. 23" appears also to be a misprint for Sept. 25.

towards Cornwall by the North of Devonshire,¹ and though the Enemy had timely notice of it, and had drawn together a considerable force to intercept them about Torrington, yett they march'd within two miles of that Towne, and recover'd Stowe (Sir Bevill Greenviles house in Cornewall) without any losse or affront, and the second day following they march'd into Bodmyn, towards which place a considerable power of horse and foote were drawn together by Sir Richard Buller and the rest of the committee of Parliament then in the Country, and advanc'd within two or 3. miles of that Towne. But hearing that Sir Ralph Hopton had drawn out those few horse and dragoones upon the Downe adjoyning to the Towne, and there stoode in readynes to receive them, they had not the courage to advance any further, but turned aside to Lanceston, which immediatly they began to fortifie, most of the ill affected people of that County, flocking into them, and many other of those parts enforced by them thither, and to Saltash where they had before that tyme erected gates, and some other litle fortificacions which they likewise kept.

In the meane tyme Sir Ralph Hopton marched towards Trurowe to refresh his wearyed weather beaten men and horses and to give a meeting to the well affected party in those parts who immediatly upon intelligence of his arrivall repayed unto him and received him and those that came with him, with very much kindnes.²

¹ "After the Marquesse Hertford's departure from Mynehead about 400 of those Cavaliers marched from thence to Dulverton and from thence to Exford in Somerset, about 14 miles from this Towne [Barnstaple] and on Saturday night last came to a village called Chittlehampton within five miles of Barnstaple, the inhabitants of which town were all in armes expecting them, but they durst not approach thither, . . . the town being fortified with 16 peeces of Ordinance and 500 men in armes. . . . A servant of the Earl of Bathes and of Sir Ralph Sydenhams conducted them and the last Sabbath day they marched to Sir Beryll Greinfeild's upon the edge of Cornwall and were by him received and billeted a day or two and 'tis conceived they will joyne with the Malignant party of Cornwall if Sir Richard Buller . . . doe not stop their passage to Pendennyes Castle of which Sir Nicholas Slaning is Captain."—From Barnstaple, 30 Sept. 1642. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 240, No. 23.)

² At this time Hopton appears to have thrown himself into Pendennis Castle at Falmouth. "Sir Ralph Hopton and the other Cavaliers that could not get any shipping at Mynhead to be transported over into Wales, are gotten into Pendennis Castle at Falmouth, intending either to make good that Fort against their assailants, or to fleie from thence by sea to some other parts."—*England's Memorable Accidents*, dated Monday, 3rd Oct., 1642. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 240, No. 33.) In No. 41 of the same volume it is also stated that Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Stowell and others, with about 100 men, "were fled into Cornwall to Pendennis Castle." Again, in No.

Within a weeke after Sir Richard Buller and his Confederats had much increased their numbers having drawen to them most of the able men of the East Division of Cornwall, and they began to barrocade and fixe a quarter at Bodmyn, with confidence to bee able to cutt of Sir Ralph Hoptons forces, before there could bee any oportunitie of raysing and joyning of others to them. Hereupon by the interest of those well affected Cornish Gentlemen of the Western Division then with Sir Ralph Hopton, within 24 howres summons there were drawen together of the Hundreds of Powder and Pyder onely, neere a thousand able men in armes at St. Collumbtowne, and thither Sir Ralph Hopton drew his horse and dragoones and likewise, with intention to advance upon the Enemyes quarters at Bodmyn, and did advance as farr as Castle St. Dennis¹ (being two miles forward) whereof those at Bodmin having notice, immediatly retreated back to Lancelton, and sent Sir Alexander Carew one of the Knightes of the Shire for Cornewall, and Mr. Humphry Nicholl (two eminent men among them) to treat. And thereupon some hopes being given of a right understanding between them, those foote so collected at St. Collumbe were dismissed, and Michell was appointed for further treaty, the morning following, where Sir Alexander Carew mett with some of the well affected Gentlemen appointed for that busines, but they suddenly parted without any resolution in it.

Immediatly followed the generall Michaelmas Sessions of the Peace for Cornewall begun at Lostwithell where there came in an inditement or Presentment against divers men unknowne for coming arm'd into that County contra pacem etc. There were likewise Bills of Indictment prefer'd against Sir Alexander Carew, Sir Richard Buller and the rest of the committee (the first President of that kind) for a rowte and unlawfull assembly att Lancelton, and for ryotts committed upon divers of his Majesties subjects (they having intercepted and imprisoned Messengers and others that were coming to the Kings party). These indictments were found by the Grand Inquest at Lostwithell, and thereupon (according to the Statute) an order

45 it is said that Sir Ralph Hopton and his Cavaliers "could not get into Pendennis Castle, which is kept against them by the Lieutenant therof for the Parliament." This is clearly wrong, for Sir Nicholas Slanning was Governor at the time. No. 46, "*A Perfect Diurnal*," says that Sir Ralph Hopton was in Pendennis with about 600 men.

¹ Castle Downs.

of Sessions was made to the Sheriffe (being Mr. Grills, since Sir John Grills) to raise the Posse Comitatus for the dispersing of the unlawfull assembly at Lanchester, and for apprehending of the riotters, and Mr. Coryton and Mr. Manaton two of the Justices present, (being very willing to mediate a right understanding and to prevent the shedding of blood as they pretended) with the consent of the rest of the Kings party, were sent to the Committee at Lanchester with copies of the indictment and of the proceedings thereupon, and a civill letter to invite them to lay downe armes, and to prevent further trouble in the country. In the meane tyme the Sessions (according to the usuall custome of that County) was the Wednesday, adjourn'd to Truro, for the day following; and Sir Ralph Hopton conceiving that the exact prosecution of the course of lawe and submission to it, was the best foundation that at that tyme could bee taken for his Majesties affaires, and that the indictment against persons unknownen could concerne none but him and his company, whose proceedings hee was there ready to justifie by his commissions which hee produced, appeared voluntary to the inditement at Truro, and Saturday, being the last day of that Sessions was tryed accordingly (a Petty Jury of men of very good quality being returned for that occasion) and after defence made, and a leasurable and legall debate of the busines, Sir Ralph Hopton and his company were not onely acquitted of the Indictment, but also the Jury in open Sessions, declared, that it was a great favour and justice of his Majesty to send downe ayde to them who were already mark'd out to destruction, and that they thought it the duty of every good subject aswell in loyaltie to the King as in gratitude to them to joine with them, and stand close by them to the utmost hazard of their lyves and fortunes;

This was the effect of Mr. Noyes speech then foreman of that Jury; Mr. Corytons and Mr. Manatons negociation with the Committee at Lanchester tooke noe effect, and thereupon warrants issued for summoning of the posse at Moylsborough neere Lostwithell the beginning of the weeke following, according to the Order of Sessions, which the sayd high Sheriffe, (being a gentleman very well affected) caused to bee executed with all possible dilligence, and there was a good effect thereof, for there appeared of the west part of Cornwall (most of the easterne part being then under the power of the Committee) about three

thousand foote well arm'd under severall coulors, and divers others with clubbs ; In the meane tyme Sir George Chudleigh and his Confederates in Devonshire, being assisted by divers troopes, (as those belonging to Capt. Pym, Capt. Tomson, Capt. Gold and others, that before that tyme were sent into Devonshire and leavyed there by Order of Parliament) had drawen together great numbers of the able men of that County to Tavistock neere the borders of Cornewall, and sent threatening letters to Sir Ralph Hopton and those with him, to hinder (if possible) their advance towards Lancelton, but those letters received resolute answeres, and Sir Geo: Chudleigh with his forces were discovered to march as far as Lifton within three miles of Lancelton ; so there remayning noe probable hopes of an accommodacion, Sir Raphe Hopton having sett the Posse in as good Order as they were capable of, with the Sheriffe and most of the well affected Gentlemen of Cornewall verie cheerfully and unanimsly advanced towards Lancelton, and lodg'd themselves the second night within two miles of that Towne with intention to fall upon the Towne the next morning early, but upon notice hereof, Sir Richard Buller and his Confederates quitted the Towne that night in much disorder, and drew themselves over Polsonbridge into Devonshire, and so towards Plymouth, so that the next morning early Sir Ralph Hopton and those with him found the Gates of Lancelton open and entred without resistance.

Then was it advised by Sir Ralph Hopton and others immediately to pursue them into Devonshire, but objection was made that those that had fledd from Lancelton being joyned with Sir Geo: Chudleigh, and the rest of the Devonshire forces might make a power superiour to them, That the stock of ammunition with Sir Ralph Hopton, was very litle, and his forces but a Posse and noe form'd army and indeed at that tyme (being long before Edgehill fight) there was much scruple made how without Commission they could drawe forces out of the County, that the Sheriffs power did extend onely to the lymitts of his owne County.

Upon these and the like consideracions it was resolved not to advance out of that County at that tyme. And thereupon a party being sent to possesse Saltash, entred without resistance (the Garrison there sayd to consist of two hundred Scotts besides others of that Towne and the County being retreated) and then the Posse was dismissed.

Immediately there was a consideration had of leavying of an Army in a formall way, whereupon Sir Bevill Greenvile having by him a Commission which hee had before that tyme from his Majesty for a foote Regiment upon the advice and desire of Sir Ralph Hopton endeavoured the raysing thereof, And Sir Nicholas Slanning, Coll: Jo: Trevanyon, Coll. William Godolphin, and within short tyme after the Lo: Mohun, did the like, and within few weekes recovered very considerable Regiments of foote, and Capt. Edw. Cosowarth a troope of dragoones, all which were armed, partly out of Gentlemens particular stores, and partly out of those that belonged to the trained bands of that County.

The Lo: Mohun was not present at the Posse at Moyl's-borough nor at Lancelston, but within short tyme aftermade a journey to Oxon, where he procured a Commission from his Majestie to himselfe, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Jo: Berkley, and Collonel William Ashburnham, or any two of them, in the absence of the Marquesse of Hertford to command in chiefe all his Majesties forces rayased and to bee rayased in the 6. western Countyes, the Cyties of Bristoll and Exon, And the Lord Mohun, being (through much danger) returned into Cornewall with that Commission, shewed himselfe verie active, and forward to advance the businesse.

In the meane tyme upon the desire of the well affected people of the parts about Milbrooke and Mount Edgcombe, Coll: Walter Slyngesby (then Major of the Lo: Mohuns Regiment) was commanded thither with Capt. Cosowarth's new leavyed dragoones, where at their first entrance into Milbrooke, Mr. Edgcombe and Mr. Stephens came in to him, and declar'd themselves for the King, That night the Lieutenant of the troope of dragoons being sett in guard below Milbrooke, Sir Alexander Cary with Muskettiers from Plymouth landed thereabout, and tooke him and some of his men prisoners, which enforced Major Sling'sby and those that were with him to retreat to Craft-Hole, leaving twenty men to secure Mount Edgcombe house, upon notice hereof Sir Ralph Hopton advanc'd to him from Bodmyn with Capt. Jonathan Trelawney and Capt. William Arundell (since both Collonells) and their companyes (which at that tyme were the onely companyes that were leavyed for his Majestie in that County) And being arrived there the same day, found the good high Sheriffe Mr.

Grills with five hundred of the Posse newly drawn together, and advanced by him that verie day. With those forces Sir Ralph Hopton advanced to Mount Edgecomb-house, and settled guards at Cromwell-passage over against Stone-house, at Impecombe, and at Milbrooke and having put all things in order left Major Slingsby there to command that quarter, and those men.

Within short tyme after those quarters were againe attempted by forces sent in 36 boates from Plymouth which being landed in the night fell upon the chiefe quarter at Milbrooke, where Major Slingsby had not altogether finished his Barracadoes, yett hee ordered his busines so well that hee beate them of, with the loss of . . . men kill'd upon the place and tooke . . . prisoners whereof Major Fortescue (one of their cheife Officers) was one and forced the rest to retreat in great fright and disorder.

Awhile after the new leavyed Cornish Regiments before mencioned were indifferently well compleated, and Sir Ralph Hoptons horse and dragoones much encreased by Voluntiers of that County, the whole being formed into some reasonable shewe of an army, having gotten fower little brasse gunnes and one of iron.

The army being come to this passe Mr. Culme then high Sheriffe of Devonshire and divers others well affected Gentlemen of that County sent Mr. Henr. Cary and Mr. Trelawney Commissioners to Bodmin, to propound to the Commanders and other well affected Gentlemen then in Cornewall that if they would draw the army to Lancelton and the borders thereabout, those of Devonshire would call a Posse to Tavistock, which the Commanders of the Cornish army undertooke to doe within fowerteen dayes, and advanced accordingle (leaving Mount Edgecombe, Milbrooke, Saltash, and the fords, and passes of Tamer well guarded). But the Enemy prevented the well affected Gentlemen of Devonshire by sending of Mr. Robert Savery one of their Collonells with about a thousand horse and foote who possest themselves of Tavistock, but upon the advance of the Cornish army they quitted Tavistock, and the Cornish Army lodg'd in it, where came to them divers of the well affected Gentlemen of Devonshire, who told them that they were still resol'd upon the busines, but could not effect it their cheife strength being in South-hams, while Plymouth lay

between them. And so the Cornish army marched on to Plympton where they dislodg'd Ruthen with his horse and dragoones, whom they found there, and enforc'd them to retreat into Plymouth, and so the Cornish army was settled in quarters at Plympton, and the parts thereabout.

Then Mr. Fortescue (since Sir Edmund Fortescue) being newly sworne high Sheriffe of Devon and other of the well affected Gentlemen of that County then with the Army at Plympton, thought it necessary for their furtherance of their good intentions in the present service, to have a Posse summond at Modbury, which within few dayes after was done accordingly; and at the tyme appointed Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Slanning, and other Gentlemen went over to Modbury with a small party to see the progresse of that busines, hoping to have found it like that they had scene in Cornewall, consisting of Regiments of foote well arm'd (though farr greater numbers) whereof at that tyme they had great occasion, wanting foote to besiege or block up Plymouth; but they found it far otherwise, for though there appear'd a great concourse of people, yett it was rather like a great fayre then a Posse, there being none but the Gentlemen that had any kind of armes or equipage for warr; insomuch as Sir Ralph Hopton (endeavouring to gather together so many men as would serve to make a convenient guard for the Towne for that night, forewarning them often of the danger that might and indeed did ensue, could not procure above twenty men arm'd, nor so much as a Patrolle of twentie horse to ride out. All the Gentlemen of the Country being so transported with the jollity of the thing, that noe man was capable of the labour and care of discepline. At the same tyme came over to Modbury two of the Towne of Dartmouth from the Major and Magistrates there to treat concerning that Towne. Upon all which occasions Sir Ralph Hopton desired Sir Nicholas Slanning to returne that night to the army to advertise Sir John Berkeley and Coll. Ashburnham of the state of all businesses, and to consult with them concerning the same who immediately proposed an enterprize upon Dartmouth, and gave present orders to halfe of Sir Bevill Greenviles Regiment (the other halfe being some few dayes before possest of Totnes) to prepare to bee the next morning verie earlie at Modbury, and advertised Sir Raphe Hopton of it that night, who depended thereon for his owne securitie. They likewise sent forth two troopes of horse

that night upon the wayes betweene Plymouth, and the Army, and the Posse. All which notwithstanding, Generall Ruthen (for so now they beginne to call him) marched that night out of Plymouth with seaven or eight hundred horse and dragoones, and was so well guided, and used so good dilligence the foote from Plympton fayling very much of their hower, that hee was within halfe a mile of Modbary before any discovery, and still advancing was quicklie upon those that were there. In which confusion the Posse was presently disperst the Sheriffe and many of the Devonshire gentlemen taken prisoners and Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Nicholas Slanning (who was returned back to him that morning) made a verie narrow escape who within halfe an howers marche of the Towne mett the foote that were coming towards them, and the horse that had bene out, and presently returned in hope to have overtaken the Enemy before they had dispatched their busines, but they had quickly surprised the Sheriffe and principall men, and were gone with them towards Dartmouth further then that harrazed party could recover them.

And so they marched with that party of horse and foote to Totnes being much cast back and the Enemy much advanced by that misfortune. And Generall Ruthen with a considerable part of the Enymies force continuing at Dartmouth, the Commanders of the Cornish Army drew a moytie of their Army to Totnes, and left th'other halfe under the Command of Coll: Ashbournham at Plimpton who shortly after receiving advertisement from the well affected Gentlemen of the Country, that the Garrison of Exon̄ was but weake for the guard of such a place, and Capt. Nott undertaking to take a shipp that lay in the River of Topsham, whereby they might possesse themselves of Topesham and Powderham; and the Gentlemen of the Country making frank promyses of supplyes of men and ammunition if they would but advance into those parts, and at least, hoping thereby to increase Regiments of foote, the army, by joynt assignacion, rose from Totnes and Plymton, advanced towards Exon̄, and quartered themselves at Affington, Powderham and Eede, and Coll. Ashbournham and that party being first possest of the quarter of Affington¹ and Powderham, Capt.

¹ The letter sent by Sir Ralph Hopton and Col. Ashburnham to Mr. Christopher Clarke, Mayor of Exeter, requiring his submission, is printed in *King's Pamph.*, E. 84, No. 45. It is dated "Alphington, Decemb. 30, 1642."

Nott, did, according as was designed, possess himselfe of the Shipp in the River, having 16. or 20. Muskettiers aboard her, but lost her againe that night by neglect. The rest of the Army coming up next day, Sir Bevill Greenvile and Coll. Godolphin with their Regiments were sent upon Topsham and tooke it, where two nights after the Enymie made a strong sally upon them out of Exōn, but were gallantly repulsed,¹ but the dyviding of that little Army, the River being between them, proved very inconvenient to them, so as they could not draw together when they would, and they not being able to block up halfe the passages into the Cytie, about Xmas Generall Ruthen advancing nimble with a good party of horse and muskettiers mounted and being well guided off from the Cornish quarters put himselfe into Exōn.

And so the hopes of that place for the present fayled ; and which was worse, their expectacion of ammunicion, subsistance and increase from the Country utterly fayled, so as the Army was enforced in that bitter season of the year (incumbred with all sorts of wants, and with the disorder and generall mutynie of the foote) to retreatate towards Cornewall. In the first dayes march they intercepted a letter from Generall Ruthen to the Mayor of Barnestable to this effect, vizt. Hopton is fledd from before Exōn having great want of powder and match, and I am preparing to follow him to take his cannon from him, whereby it was discerned that the Enemy knew their wants, and thereby the Army knew his intentions. So having made their first dayes marche to Crediton, they rested the foote and horse there one whole day, but advanced the cannon and carryages, with the dragoones for their guard to Bowe, and so the second night they all recovered safe to Oakehampton, where likewise they rested a day with their horse and foote as before, but sent away their cannon and carryages with their dragoones before to Briddestowe, there Generall Ruthen appear'd as if hee meant to bee as good as his word, but his forlorne hope that came neare the Towne being beaten off, and sharply pursued Generall Ruthen thought not fitt to advance any further upon them, so

¹ This happened on Monday, 21st Nov. (1642), according to an account written by a Parliament man (*King's Pamph.*, E. 128, No. 11), who says that the Royalists were routed with the loss of 1500 men upon this sortie of the garrison. The narrator speaks unaffectedly of the gallant behaviour of Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Grenvile, who "like men of resolve stood it out to the uttermost."

that enterprize of his serv'd to noe other use then to reconcile the Commander and the Cornish foote, which to that very instant had bene through the whole marche so disobedient and mutinous, as little service was expected from them if they should bee attempted by the Enemy, but they on the contrary upon the first newes of the Enemyes approach recover'd their discretions, and put themselves into very excellent order of ready obedience beyond expectation. The next day they march't from Okehampton, and by the advantage of having sent their cannon and baggage before to Briddestowe they gott all safe to Lancelston that night.

Within few dayes after the Enimy attempted Saltash having planted cannon on the Devonshire syde of the River, and drawn up three great shipps in the River over against that Towne, all which play'd in to it, inasmuch as by a pressing letter from Sir William Courtney to Sir Ralph Hopton hee was advertised of the danger of that place, and thereupon Sir Ralph Hopton with Coll. Trevanions Regiment and Capt. William Arundells company immediatly advanc'd thitherward, and with them put himselfe that night into Saltash, accompanied with Mr. Henr. Killegrew and Mr. Sidney Godolphin, but through the hardnes and suddenes of the march and the mutinous disposicion of Coll. Trevanian's men, neere halfe of that Regiment came not in till the next morning, where being come hee placed the guards in the best order hee could and sett forward the makeing of Barracadoes and Traverses in all necessary places, insomuch as though the Enemy for a weekes space did continually play into the Towne from their shipps and batteries with att least fourescore pieces of ordnance and prest in boates to land foote upon them, yet it pleased God that they were alwayes repulsed by those in the Towne without any considerable losse untill a greater power drawn out of Somersetshire, Dorsett, and other of the Easterne Countyes, and joyn'd in Devonshire with their other forces of that County, advanced by the land way to the Passes over Tamer, and forc'd the guards at New-bridge about seven miles from Saltash, upon the newes whereof Sir Ralph Hopton prepar'd to receive them upon the land side, and to that end sent his orders to Major Slingsby then Commander of the quarters at and about Milbrooke to draw over secretly in the night twelvescore choice muskettiers commanded by himselfe, and to lay them in ambuscadoe as neere and as close as

hee could to the north-west syde of Salt Ash to fall upon the Enemies reare if they should advance to assault Saltash.

But the same night, and upon occasion of the same newes there came to Sir Ralph Hopton a joynt letter from all the Commanders that hee had left at Lancelton, desiring him as the possitive opinion of the whole Councell of warr not to abide the Enymie in that place, their numbers and force being more then they could have expected. So after consultacion with the officers in Saltash, hee left the Towne and retreated that night to Liskeard and so to Lostwithell at the same tyme directing Coll: Slingsby to rise from his quarters and to come to him, the rest of the Army at the same tyme making their retreat towards Bodmin; where the storme being foreseene, orders were sent some few dayes before for conventing of the Posse, which came up in convenient tyme and in convenient numbers, notwithstanding the generall fright of the Country by reason of the Enemyes sudden advancing. For General Ruthen presently came over to Saltash, and joyn'd with the land forces that came in over New-bridge, and so within few dayes in a full body advanced to Liskeard. By this tyme the Commanders of the Cornish Army having rested their men, and sent their baggage back into the Countrey, and put the traynd bands into a reasonable order, the . . . drew a rendez-vous on Moylsborough Downe and advanced that night without cannon or baggage into Bocunoke Parke: where they lodg'd that night, keeping parties of horse abroad, to gett what intelligence they could of the Enemy. The next morning early (upon the resolution of a Councell of warr taken that night) they advanced determining to find the Enimie wheresoever hee was, and if hee should keepe himselfe still in Liskard to fall upon him there. In the morning as they were drawing out, their dragoone that had the Van of all, were beaten in by the Enymies horse which were already drawn up upon the east side of Bradock Downe at the end of the Lane coming out from Lyskard, but the horse belonging to the Cornish Army presently advancing recomforted their dragoones that had lost an officer or two, and fac'd the Enimy's horse though double superiour in number. There it was considered that the Commission that the Lo: Mohun had brought giving equall authoritye to fower might prove inconvenient in the battell (which hitherto the more than ordinary moderacion of all parties had well prevented) so Sir Ralph

Hopton was desired by all the rest to take upon him the intire command of the army that day which hee did accordinglie, and having drawen the foote in the best order hee could on the west syde of Bradock Downe and having had publique Prayers in the head of every squadron (which the Enemy observing stiled Masse, as was afterwards confest by some of the prisoners) and having placed a forlorne of muskettiers in little inclosures that lay before him, and winged all with the few horse and dragoones hee had, hee caused to bee speedily and secretly fetcht from the Lord Mohun's house, two little iron Minion-drakes, which with little parties of horse were cover'd from the Enimy, so that they were placed upon a little Borough within randome-shott of the Enymies bodyes, which then were drawen up intirely, both horse and foote, but their cannon was not as yett come up, which advantage Sir Ralph Hopton espying plac'd a reserve of foote behind him, after two shott with the drakes advanced upon the Enemy with all the rest, and quickly beate them off that ground, but they having likewise with their reserve lyn'd the hedges behind them thought thereby to make good their retreat, but being prest on all sides, they quickly quitted that ground likewise, and put all their army into a rowte, and gave the Cornish army the execution of them, which they performed verie sparinglie, but tooke twelve hundred and fyftie prisoners most of their coulours all their cannon, being fower brasse gunnes upon carryages, (whereof two were 12 pounders) and one iron saker, besides divers . . . of brasse, all their ammunicion, and most of their armes, and march'd that night to Liskeard, where the next day they rested their men, and gave publique thanks.¹

Thither advertisement was sent from Lancelton, that the Earle of Stamford with Coll. Merricks and some other Regiments of foote and some horse was come as farr as Lancelton, but hearing of the defeate of their fellowes they retreated in disorder towards Tavistock, and Generall Ruthen with as many of his men as were left, was entrenching and fortifying himselfe at Saltash. Hereupon the Commanders of the Cornish army tooke a resolucion to divide their forces, Sir John Berkeley and Coll. Ashbournham, with Sir Bevill Grenvilles, Sir Nicholas Slannings, and Coll. Trevanions voluntary Regiments and halfe the horse and dragoones were to advance to Tavistock to try if they could intercept the Earle of Stamford with his

¹ The battle of Bradock Down was fought on 19th Jan., 1643.

party, The Lo: Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton with the Lo: Mohun's, and Coll. Godolphin's voluntarie Regiments of foote, and some of his train'd band Regiment and Major Wm. Scawen with some of his train'd bands, accompayned with Sir Wm. Courtney Mr. Henr. Killigrew and Mr. Sidney Godolphin, who, though they had noe particular commands yett gave very great assistance being all of the Councell of warr, and very ready with their persons in all occasions, with this strength they advanc'd upon Generall Ruthen at Saltash where they found that hee had used such dilligence as that hee had raysed a worke up the hight of the ground before the gate where they were to come, which flank'd all wayes, and had lodg'd fower peices of cannon in it, and brought up in the River before the Towne a goodly shipp neere 400 tunn with 16 peices of ordnance in her, But the Lo: Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton with their party assoone as they came up immediatly fell upon the worke and the Towne, and beate the Enemy out both with considerable losse, many of them being drown'd in the River, and the best runing great hazards, besides they tooke all their ordnance, and the shipp, some coulours many armes and about sevenscore prisoners:¹

But Sir Jo: Berkley and Coll. Ashbournham with their party that advanc'd to Tavistock had not the fortune to encounter the Earle of Stanford who had made too great hast from them . . . while the Cornish army refreshed in those 2 severall quarters Saltash and Tavistock, Mr. Fran: Buller that had some dayes before treated for his owne reconciliacion to the Kings service (as hee pretended) which treaty was by the consent of the Commanders mannaged betweene him and Coll: Godolphin by the intermediation of John Smyth of St. Nyott, And at this tyme it turn'd to a proposall of a conference betweene the E. of Stamford, Sir Geo. Chudley, and Mr. Fran: Buller, on their part, and the Lo: Mohun, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Coll: Godolphin on the Kings part. The truth is they began then to give over the hope of destroying that army and so would have bene contented to bee fairely ridd of them, and to² lett them passe to the King the Commanders of the Kings party were contented to march away to the King, but upon condicion

¹ The engagement at Saltash was fought on Sunday, 22nd Jan., 1643. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 86, No. 26.)

² There is an interlineation here. Originally the passage read thus: "ande to passe to the King but upon condicion," &c. The words "to march away" in the interlineation appear to be struck out.

that by his Majesties leave and consent those two countyes might remayne totally newtrall, the new Garrisons in them slighted, the old Garrisons restored into the Kings hands, and kept with the wonted guards as in tyme of peace, That the lawe should have its due proceedings as in tyme of peace, that noe arm'd Troopes should be received into either County of either part, noe contributions exacted to the warr, noe pressing, or leavying of Voluntiers, but that whosoever stood affected to either party, might singly goe out with his retinnue and goods to either party, as hee should think fitt, but returne before the end of the warr, without theise condicions, The Commanders of the Kings Army were resolved not to desert those loyall subjects, that had so long and so well supported them ; This Treaty produced an appointment for a meeting att Canterbury house on the Devonshire side towards Plymouth, whether the Lo: Mohun, Sir Ralph Hopton and Coll: Godolphin came, but the other party sent an excuse upon the jealousie they conceiv'd of the place, and for that in the letter written to them by Sir Ra: Hopton for their securitie, and for acceptance of their proposicion, and of the tyme and place, the day appointed was (as they sayd) mis-dated: and so they desired an other day and an other place nearer Plymouth (more under their owne command) might bee appointed by the Commissioners of the King's party, who (being very well contented thereby to attaine with safety and ease a view of the fittest quarters for them to take up afterwards, and indeed expecting noe other fruite of that Treaty.) appointed Ham Mr. Trelawney's house with in a mile of Plymouth, where the next day being Sunday about 2. of the clock, they mett and spent about an howre and halfe together with reasonable kindnes, but broke of upon their refusing of restoring the old Garrysons to the King. So both parties retreated ; And the Commissioners for the Kings part found that house so convenient to make a reasonable strong quarter towards Plymouth, that they drew up their men, and the Lo: Mohun and Sir Raph Hopton returned and lay there that night, The other part of their army from Tavistock removing the same tyme to Plymton, though both parties were then much diminished, by reason that they could prevayle with verie few of the common men of the train'd bands (after the Battell of Bradock) to passe over with them into Devonshire, and to joyne with the voluntary army.

The army remayned thus divyded before Plymouth by the space of . . . weekes, that part that was drawn from Tavistock to Plympton under the command of Sir John Berkeley and Collonell Ashbournham employed themselves in fixing of guards upon the Passes that went from Plymouth Eastward, and to the gathering of the County behind them (which was often attempted) they fixed a quarter att Modbury and Sir John Berkley with a party volunt of horse and foote, did with very great dilligence and gallantry fall upon young Chudleigh (then Major Generall of the Parliament forces in Devonshire.) at Kingsbridge who with as great dilligence attempted to drawe the Countrey together in severall places, at Kings-bridge, where Sir Jo: Berkeley beate them up, and took divers good prisoners and so afterwards at Okehampton, where they dispersed themselves upon the noyse of his coming, and drew together againe at Chagford whither Sir Jo: Berkeley advancing from Okehampton (accompanyed with Sir Fran: Hawley, Mr. Tho: Bassett, and Mr. Sidney Godolphin fayl'd of his wonted successe, being ingaged upon the Towne too suddenly before day, and before all his dragoones were come to him, where Sir Fran: Hawley charging through the Towne, received two muskett shott, and lost Edm. Wyndham his Lieutenant (a very gallant youth) and there they lost likewise a Gentleman never to bee forgotten Mr. Sidney Godolphin, of whom may bee sayd in breife, that hee was as perfect, and as absolute peice of vertue as ever our Nation bredd.

The other part of the army under the command of the Lo: Mohun, and Sir Raphe Hopton the next day after their coming to Ham-house advanced their quarters to Swilly, where, before all their men were come up, (there being indeed yett none with them but a part of Coll: Godolphins regiment) the Enemy made a strong sally out of Plymouth and prest hard upon them for three howres, but it pleased God, that their force increasing by the coming in of the rest they made good their quarters, and advanced them that night to Ven-house on the left hand, and to Stoake on the right hand, and kept guards in severall places within randome muskett shott of their lyne and in view of their workes of Plymouth.

But after that misfortune at Chagford Sir Jo: Berkeley being enforced to draw back to his quarters, the Enimy gathered a new force at Kingsbridge, which presently bent upon the

storming of the quarter at Modbury,¹ where Sir Nicholas Slanning and Coll: Trevanion were with their Regiments, And whither Sir Jo: Berkeley went in person upon the approach of the Enemy. They fell upon that quarter about one of the clock in the afternoone, and storm'd it with very great fury all that afternoone and the most part of the night, with muskett and cannon shott, and it was as gallantly defended by those that were in it. The Lo: Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton assoone as they heard the storme begin prepared to draw of their batteries, and to fitt themselves assoone as they could to marche to the ayde of their friends, which the Enemy with strong sallyes out of Plymouth endeavoured to hinder. But the ordnance were all drawn of assoone as it was night, and that night they intended their marche. But received advertizement that night from their friends in Plympton, that the party at Modbury having made good their quarters as long as their ammunicion lasted, with noe small losse to the Enemy, were forced for want of ammunicion to retreate to Plympton, where they were safely arryved, and intended verie early the next morning to rayne their quarter at Plympton, and to retreate to Rowborough Downe, which they did accordinglie, And the party with the Lo: Mohun and Sir Raphe Hopton (slighting their little workes) retreated orderly about the same tyme, and that morning about 9. of the clock they all mett upon Rowborough Downe, having sent their heavy carryages and ordnance to Saltash passage, and thence boated them safe over to Salt-Ash. The body of the army marched that night to Tavistock where they stay'd and refreshed themselves severall dayes. The Earle of Stamford and Generall Ruthen (joyed with this kind of victory) increased in power and threatned to remove them from Tavistock by force, but were contented at last to procure their departing out of Devon-shire by another Treaty intermediated by Mr. Nicholas Trefusis.

This Treaty² was most solemnly entred into by their mutuall takeing of a solemne protestacion of the sinceritie of their intencions, and the Sacrament upon it; All which strictures

¹ The Parliament forces left Plymouth on Monday night, reaching Modbury at noon on Tuesday the 21st Feb., 1643. They visited on the way Fleet House, "where Baronet Heale dwells, and there took about twenty horse with some prisoners." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 91, No. 4; see also Nos. 5 and 25.)

² In the margin of the narrative is written, "This treaty is particularly collected by a Gent. (of parts) of Cornwall from whose hands there is hope to have it."

proceeded from the motion of the Parliament party and the sixe Commissioners chosen of each part being Gentlemen of fortune and quality in both Countyes, and they being already sufficiently inform'd of the condicions which the Kings party would immoveably insist upon, it gave hope that some good might have been done, but letters from Sir William Waller, and Mr. Edm. Prideaux and Mr. Anthony Nicholl (Commissioners expressly sent from the Parliament) turn'd all their good meaning, (if there were any) into collusion. So the Treaty lasted forty dayes, in which tyme the Enymie gott together a great masse of money¹ which for the most part they leavyed upon the best affected persons within their owne quarters, and having gotten recrewts from the Eastern Counties advanc'd towards Lancelton, where they appear'd upon Polson bridge within two miles of that Towne on Saturday the . . . of Aprill about two howers before sun sett with flying colours, but entred not into Cornewall till the next morning the tyme of the Cessacion not expiring till that Saturday night 12 of the clock.

During this Cessacion the Commanders of the Cornish army having frequent meetings with the well affected Gentlemen of Cornewall, and communicating unto them the daylie proceedings of the Treaty, consulted (as it was most necessary) how to bee prepared in the best manner they could when the Treaty should breake up, for though the Enemyes Commissioners conceal'd their purpose as much as they could, eaven to the continuing of meetings of the Commissioners to the verie last day of the Treaty (when their army was the same tyme marching towards Lancelton) yett by the change of their manner of proceedings

¹ It was a matter of complaint by the Parliament party that during the armistice the Royalists fortified Saltash and received arms and supplies from St. Malo.—“*A Perfect Diurnal*,” (*King's Pamph.*, 247, No. 3. . Prideaux and Nichols, Commissioners from the Parliament, were at Exeter on Monday, 13th March. The Cornish gentlemen came the next day. The propositions put forward by the latter were debated and the discussion was adjourned to “a grove near Plymouth.” The proposals were shortly these: (1) Hopton and his forces to have leave to pass to the King without molestation, paying for what they took; (2) All prisoners on both sides to be released and ministers in prison to be restored to their livings: an injunction to be laid on all clergy not to omit the reading of any part of the Common Prayer-book; (3) All fortifications in both counties to be rased, and an absolute laying down of arms to follow. (4) Free commerce in trade, and both counties to oppose any force coming in either from the King or the Parliament.—“*Certain Special and Remarkable Passages*” (*King's Pamph.*, 247, No. 7); “*A Perfect Diurnal*” (*Ibid.*, No. 10). The Parliament was not favourable to the Treaty. (*King's Pamph.*, 247, Nos. 11 and 30.)

which was very visible for many dayes before, the Commanders of the Cornish Army playnlie perceived that they intended nothing but a breach, and represented it so effectually and so tymelie to the well affected gentlemen of that County, that a generall meeting of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the same County at Bodmyn they cheerfully and unanimously consented to asseste the Country to a contribucion of seven hundred and fyftie pounds per weeke and to proceed with all as persons disaffected against whomsoever should refuse or delay their proportions of it. They likewise consented to a voluntarie loane of their plate upon securitytie from the Lo: Mohun Sir Ralph Hopton and others for the repayment of the value thereof within . . . which plate was brought in accordinglie to the value of three thousand pounds. They likewise with the universall consent of the well affected Gentlemen of that County tooke order for the leavying of what remayn'd uncollected, or in collectours hands of the grand subsedy. And theise were the chiefe expedients that were found by the help of that poore County alone, without any possible meanes at that tyme of reliefe from the King to supply the extreame necessities of the army. Orders were likewise seasonable sent forth for the souldiers to draw to their colours and to appeare at a rendezvous at Lanceson on Sunday the . . . of Aprill in the forenoone. Sir Bevill Grenville was at that tyme in Lanceson with his Regiment and Sir Ra: Hopton accompayned with Mr. Thomas Bassett (since Sir Tho: Bassett) who at that tyme executed the place of Major-Generall of the army Coll: Ashbournham being gone to the King) came thither the Saturday morning, and placed litle parties of dragoones upon the passes especially at Polson-bridge with order to take notice of the motions of the Enemy and to retreate if hee prest to advance.

The next morning being Sunday while they were at Church att Prayers, the Enimy advanced over Polson-bridge there being yett none of the rest of the Cornish army come up.

So Sir Ralph Hopton assoone as Prayers were ended, drew out of the Towne with halfe of Sir Bevile Grenvilles Regiment and observing by the Enimy's marche that they made towards the Beacon Hill over the Towne, hee with that Regiment possest himselfe with that Hill, and lyn'd the hedges with muskettiers at the foote thereof towards the Enemy's marche.

At the same tyme came in very fortunately to him Coll. Godolphin's officers with his Regiment, and about an hower after they were engag'd with the Enemy, came in Major Slings'by with the Lo: Mohun's Regiment of foote, and about that tyme Sir Jo: Berkeley with divers troopes of horse and dragoones. Neither party had Cannon, onely the Enimy had some . . . of brasse with which they had play'd very smartly. The rest of the Cornish foote being Sir Nicholas Slannings and Coll: Trevanions Regiments (for they had there none but voluntarie Regiments) came not in till about seaven of the clock at night. And about the same tyme came in to the Enymie a fresh Regiment from Plymouth. So as during the heate of that whole day all that they could doe was but to hold up the Enymie where hee was, and to keepe their owne ground, which (God be thanked) they did with considerable losse to the Enimy but noe great losse of their part, saving of Capt. Bassett a brother to Sir Fran: Bassett who was a very gallant Gentleman, and at that tyme commanded the Lo: Mohun's company, but assoone as all the Cornish Regiments were come in, the Commanders dyvided the foote into three parts, whereof one was commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Jo: Berkeley and th'other by Mr. Tho: Bassett, and thre severall wayes charg'd up the Enymies body, which with the losses they had before received, and the opportunitie they had of the night approaching for them to escape away quickly disorder'd them, but the night coming on, and the wayes being narrow and incommodious, they had litle meanes to pursue them, but goeing to visite the ground where they fought, a trayne of powder with divers armes which they had left in a litle barne that they had possest, suddenlie blew up, and scalded many of the Cornish officers and souldiers. And so the Enemy retreated to Okehampton; and the Commanders of the Cornish army were enforced to stay from following of them a day or two longer then they would, by reason that the common Souldiers according to their usuall custome after a fight grew disorderlie and mutinous, and the Commanders were alwayes very scant of meanes either to satisfie them or otherwise to command them.

But upon . . . all things being gotten into reasonable good order the Commanders gott the army to draw forth Tuesday in the evening as farr as Lifton, and the next day marcht to

Briddistowe intending to have quarter'd there. But as they were putting out their guards a party of the Enemyes horse gave them an alarum close to that quarter, and at the same tyme there came a friend from Okehampton who assured that the Enemy at Okehampton was in very great disquyett and feare, that they had issued warrants to the Country to bring in draughts to remove their ordnance and ammunicion, but none were obeyed. The concurrence of these two accidents begott a resolucion in the Commanders presently to drawe forth the army, and to march all night towards Okehampton being five miles eastward and to fall upon the Enimy there verie early in the morning the army being drawn forth upon the western part of Sourton Downe before the night was shutt in, was there put in order for a night marche, and indeed it appear'd upon view the handsoms't body of men that had bene gotten together in those parts all that warr. They consisted of three hundred dragoones, but the most of them new leavyed, and about three hundred horse, and about three thousand foote all of the five voluntarie Cornish Regiments. Besides there was Mr. Henr: Carey (since Sir Henr. Cary) who after the surprise of Mr. Fortescue the high Sheriffe and th'other Gentlemen at Modbury, was appointed high Sheriffe of Devonshire, who then as at all other tymes exprest great industry, great courage, and great affection in his Majesties Service, and had there with him divers voluntiers of the Gentry of that County. There were then likewise with the army sower peices of brasse ordnance, whereof two were the 12 pounders taken from the Enymie at Liskard under the command of Sir Nicholas Slanning, who was Generall of the Ordnance, And so they marched with halfe of their dragoones, halfe of their horse, and halfe of their foote in the van, their ordnance in the middle, and th'other halfe of the other halfe of the foote after the ordenance, the left whing of the horse in the next place, and the left whing of the dragoones in the reare of all. And so they march'd, with scouts out before, and on every hand of them, that night over Sourton Downe towards Okehampton, never as they conceiv'd in better order, nor in better equipage, nor ever (which had like to have spoyle all) in lesse apprehension of the Enemy, for about 11 at night the Lo: Mohun, Sir Ra: Hopton, Sir Jo: Berkeley, and Sir Tho: Bassett being carelesly enterteyning themselves in the head of the dragoones young James Chudley had drawn out of Okehampton

two hundred choyce horse, and by meanes that hee was better guided then their scouts were on that large Downe, and by the darknes of the night hee came up close to the van of their dragoones undiscovered, till the Generall officers themselves perceived his body moving within carabine shott, and then presently Major Generall Chudleigh gave a volley of carabines and charged the dragoones, which (being many of them new men tooke fright and rowted, and fell back upon the horse, and so the Enemy ryding mixt with them, rowted halfe of the army up to the cannon, where the Lo: Mohun and Sir Bevill Grenvile first made the stand; and Sir Ralph Hopton in the rowt, sent a messenger to Sir Nicholas Slanning being then in the reare, to advertize him of the accident, and to direct him to draw up the reare to the cannon, which was very well performed, And so the stand was well maynteyned, and the Enemy beaten off. Then the Commanders drew up the army in the best order they could in that place, being very darke and tempestuous weather, taking advantage of an old trenche that they found upon the Heath, which they lyn'd with muskettiers on the left hand, and drew up all their horse and dragoones that were left upon the right hand, planting the fowre peices of cannon just before the front and before it Sweads feathers,¹ and so they stooode expecting a second charge, wherein they were not altogether mistaken for Major Generall Chudleigh upon this successe, sent and drew out all his foote and horse from Okehamton, which were in a short space discerned by their light matches advancing in a body towards them. Assoone as they came within cannon shott the Cornish army gave them two peices of cannon, whereby the Enemy understoode that they were to doe some thing els then pursuing, which the body of his foote did not so well like of, so their hearts fayling Mr. Chudleigh presented them a second charge with his horse up to the Sweads feathers, and so left them, and that night left his quarters. But the Commanders

¹ Of the Swedish feather (or hand palisado) Turner gives the following account in his *Pallas Armata*, quoted by Hewitt (*Ancient Armour and Weapons*, vol. iij. p. 744):—"I think I may in this place reckon the Swedish feather among the defensive arms, tho' it doth participate of both defence and offence: It is a stake five or six foot long and about four finger thick, with a piece of sharp iron nail'd to every end of it. By the one (end) it is made fast in the ground in such a manner that the other end lyeth out, so that it may meet with the breast of a horse, whereby a body of musketeers is defended as with a pallisado." They are sometimes called swyn feathers (*Ibid.*, p. 720). See also "Cromwell's Army," Firth, 91-2.

of the Cornish army perceiving that they were much lessned, (though not above threescore men kill'd) thought it not fitt to advance in the night, but made good their ground till the breake of day, and then drew back to Briddestowe to refresh, not having yet heard any perfect intelligence of the Enemies mocions.¹

In this fight Mr. Carey the high Sheriffe of Devonshire, was beaten of his horse, and his horse kill'd under him, but hee knowing the Country by the advantage of night escaped to a Country mans house, and from thence recovered his owne house in South Hams in a womans apparrell, from whence a weeke after hee was conveyed back to the army with a party of horse to the great contentment of all the Kings friends, who had given him for lost.

And Capt. Wrey (since Sir Chichester Wrey) being then but 15 yeares of age, and litle of stature, but a spritly gallant youth, and then commanded a company in the Lo: Mohun's Regiment that had the vanguard) was taken prisoner and carryed downe to Okehampton, but the troopers that tooke him being carelesse of him and thinking him to bee but a troopers boy hee tooke the opertunity to make his escape in the night, and three dayes

¹ "Serjeant-Major Chudleigh being at Okehampton with only a hundred and eight men, and having sudden intelligence of the ennemie's near approach, presently drew out his hundred and eight horse into a foime in the evening fit for the ground, which was not discovered by the Enemy, lying close as an ambuscade under the side of a hill by many small divisions, with great space between spreading more ground than the enemies whole body, who being come upon us within carbine shot undiscovered, we charged him through all together and chased him to his very Rear, and so put Sir Ralph Hopton with all his horse and Dragoones and the Lord Mohun to retreat quite out of the field, Sir Nicholas Slanning escaping very narrowly."—*"A Perfect Diurnal."* (*King's Pamph.*, No. 249, No. 3.)

The narrator says nothing about Chudleigh's return to the attack with reinforcements, as related by Hopton. Substantially the same account is given in *"A Most Miraculous and Happy Victory."* (*King's Pamph.*, E. 100, No. 6.) Here it is stated that Chudleigh's foot retreated, leaving their matches burning on the furze bushes. In yet another account mention is made of another charge by Chudleigh's horse begun but not pushed home because of the darkness and rain.—*Ibid.*, No. 12.

Chudleigh himself says that all his horse, with the exception of the officers and about a dozen soldiers, "which I was forced to perswade back with a battoone," ran away.—*Ibid.*, No. 17.

Several Puritan newswriters refer to a great storm of thunder and lightning during the fight, and one goes so far as to say that the "lightning singed and burnt the haire of their [the Royalist's] heads and fired the gunpowder in their musket-pans and bandeliers which so lamentably scorched and burnt many of their bodies that they sent for 12 Chyrurgions from Launceston to cure them."—*"Joyfull Newes from Plimouth."* (*King's Pamph.*, E. 102, No. 9.) The storm is, of course, claimed as an interposition by Providence in favour of the Parliament.

See also the narrative of Chudleigh's operations in Rushworth, vol. v. p. 267.

after returned into Cornewall with a dozen or 13 Muskettiers of the straglers that hee had recollected.

From Briddestow the army retreated that day to Lancelton, where some few dayes were spent. for the collecting of those of their men that were disperst in the last rowte, and in supplying of armies and other necessaries, and certein intelligence being brought of the Enemyes disorderly retreat through Okehampton, they once againe advanced with the army into Devonshire, and stay'd some dayes att Tavistock for the coming up of some of their men that were still behind in the Country, And there was an intencion to advance to Okehampton, but the army being 2 or 3 miles in their march that way, upon intelligence of fresh supplyes that were come to the Enemy from Somersetshire and other parts, wherewith they were advanced as farr as Okehampton, and that their numbers farr exceeded those of the Cornish army they once more retreated into Cornewall, and stay'd att Lancelton using all possible meanes for recrewtes aswell of men as of all other necessaryes, In the meane tyme intelligence was brought of the Enemyes advancing into the north part of Cornewall, and that they had made their head quarter att Stratton, and thereupon within few dayes after it was resolved to draw up towards them, and to try the hazard of a battell, and to prevent (if possible) their further advance into the Country. The first night the Cornish army advanc'd noe further than North-Petherton,¹ where in an open common they lay together all that night, and aswell the best of the officers as the souldiers were all verie well contented with a drie bisquett apiece, for want of other provisions, the next morning being Sunday after Prayers read by the Chapleins in everie Regiment, they began to advance further, and within a miles marche were allarum'd by a lusty party of the Enemies horse and dragoones, with which their forlorne hope entertain'd skirmishes by the space of almost two howers, and not knowing but that the Enemies whole army was at hand they drew up in order to receive them, but in short tyme, after they were discovered to bee but onely a party, and enforc'd to retreat. And then the Cornish army march'd on, but by reason of this interrupcion could not that night gett any further than Mary-Weeke, being about 8 miles from Lancelton, and 4 from Stratton ;

Noe sooner were they come into Mary-Weeke but were

¹ North Petherwin.

presently entertained with a fresh allarum from the Enemy, who found them in so good a posture that they dar'd not make any further attempt upon them there. The Cornish army stooode upon their guard all that night likewise, still in very great want of provisions, their owne stores onely affording a bisquett to a man, and the place so poore, that it was not able to supply them in any considerable proporcion. The next day by sunn sett they were advanced so far as Efford house being within the parish of Stratton about a mile from the Towne, and immediatly with their forlorne hope beate in a party of the Enymies, and recovered the passe over the River att Efford-Mill which lay betweene them and the Enymies Camp. Then the Commanders of the Cornish Army call'd a Councell of warr, where it was quickly resolv'd, notwithstanding the great visible disadvantage, that they must either force the Enymies Campe, while the most part of their horse and dragoones were from them, or unavoydably perish. And so in the beginning of that night a great part of the Army was drawn over that passe and placed in the Inclosures towards the Enemies Campe, and stooode all night at their armes ready to receive the Enemy, which was expected to fall upon them, But nothing was acted till the next morning about the break of day, and then it was discerned that the Enymie had lyn'd hedges within halfe muskett shott of them, and then immediatly muskett shott began to bee exchanged between both parties. And within a while after the rest of the Cornish Army was drawn over likewise, and the foote being about two thousand fowre hundred, dyvided into fower parts, and the cannon being eight peices equallie distributed to every part. The first part commanded by the Lo: Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, undertooke to assault the Enemies Campe upon the south side, next Sir John Berkeley and Sir Beville Grenville upon the Avenue next to them upon the left hand, Sir Nicholas Slanning and Coll. Trevanion the next Avenue to that upon the left hand of [all]¹ and Sir Thomas Bassett and Coll: Godolphin upon the left hand of all, Mr. John Digby with the horse and dragoones being then about five hundred, stooode upon a Sandy-Common where there was a way leading up to the Enymies Campe, with order to charge anything that should come downe that way in a body, but els to stand firme in reserve.

¹ Erased. Slanning and Trevanion were to assault the north side (*Clarendon*).

The Enemy was so confident of their strength and number, that they had before sent away 1200. of their horse and dragoones (which was almost all they had) to Bodmyn to surprize the Sheriffe and Commanders there, and to rayse the County behind them. So as they then had with them but a few horse, but they had five thousand fower hundred foote by polle as Mr. Chudleigh their Major Generall afterward acknowledged. They had likewise thirteen peices of brasse ordnance and mortar peice with a verie plentifull magazine of provisions and ammunicion, and all strongly encamped and barracadoed upon the flatt topp of a very high hill that had very steepe ascents to them every way.

In this order on both sydes the fight began Tuesday the 16 day of May 1643. about 5 of the clock in the morning, The Cornish foote pressing those 4 wayes up the Hill towards the Enemy and the Enimy as obstinately endeavouring to keepe them downe. The fight continued doubtfull with many countenances of various events till about three of the clock in the afternoone, by which tyme the ammunicion belonging to the Cornish Army was almost spent. It fortun'd that on that Avenew where Sir Beville Grenvile advanc'd in the head of his Pikes in the way, And Sir Jo: Berkeley ledd on the muskettiers on each syde of him, Major Generall Chudleigh with a stand of Pikes charg'd Sir Beville Grenvile so smartlie, that there was some disorder, Sir Beville Grenvile, in person overthrown, but being presently relieved by Sir Jo: Berkely and some of his owne officers, hee reenforc'd the charge, and there tooke Major Generall Chudleigh prisoner, In fine the endeavours of all the 4 parts of the foote succeeded so well, as growing nearer together as they ascended, and the Enemy giving way, and leaving the possession of some of their dead and some of their cannon to them between 3 and 4 of the clock the Commanders happened to meete altogether in one ground neere the Topp of the Hill, where having joyfully embraced one another they pursued their victorie, and recovered the topp of the Hill, which the Enimy had acquyted in a route. In that fight God blessed the Kings party so well that they lost not . . . men in all, though they were the assaylants, but kill'd about three hundred of the Enymie in that place, and took seaventeen hundred prisoners, whereof their Major Generall was one, and about thirty other officers. They tooke likewise all their cannon,

being (as is sayd before) 13 peices of brasse ordnance and a brasse mortar-peice, and all their ammunition being seventy barrells of powder, and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable and a verie great magazine of bisquett and other provisions, and all dispos'd of in very excellent order which was a verie seasonable blessing to the Cornish-Army that had suffered very great want of foode for 3 or 4 dayes before, and had not fower barrells of powder left in the world.¹

The Commanders having gain'd the Campe and disperst the Enemy after publike prayer and thanks givinge upon the Hill disposed the maine of the Army in as good an order as they could, sparing but a few loose horse for the pursuite, because they knew not how neere the Enimyes horse and dragoones might bee upon their returne to take their advantage of any disorder. At Stratton they rested the Army that night and the next day, but presently sent away post to Lancelston and Saltash and the passes upon Tamer to give notice of this successe, and to order the Commanders there with the train'd band Regiments to guard the passes against the returne of the Enymies horse and dragoones that were then at Bodmyn, and the 18th of this moneth being Thurseday leaving Sir Beville Grenville with his Regiment at Stratton to guard the Prisoners and the traine, they marched thence with the rest of the Army in hope to intercept the Enemies horse upon their retreat. But Sir Geo: Chudleigh haveing with great jollity disperst the Posse, and possesse himselfe of Bodmyn, (though it was not without some losse being very gallantly held out an houre or two upon the Barracadoes by old Mr. Kendall the Major of Lostwithell, who though hee lost his lyfe kil'd ten of the Enymie before they could enter) yett having quicklie intelligence of the successe att Stratton hee made a very disorderlie retreat out of the Country leaving many of his men and horse behind a prey to the Country people.

And so the Cornish Army drew to Lancelston, where came to them Dr. Coxe who brought the first newes of the Marquesse of Hertford and Prince Maurice advancing towards the west.

¹ This is what the other side said: "The Earl of Stamford's foot forces (for the horses were gone upon another design) following the enemy into Cornwall to a place called Stratton incountered with them, and after seven or eight hours' fight, were forced to retreat having lost their ordnance and that they lost about two thousand arms and three hundred men (most of them being taken prisoners) and the rest fled away in some disorder and are come to Plymouth."—"A Perfect Diurnal," (*King's Pamph.*, 249, No. 11.)

The successe at Stratton giving them a verie good opertunitie to bee able confidentlie to marche up to them, which was endeavour'd according to their desires intimated by Dr. Cox, And so upon the . . . of the same moneth the Cornish Army advanc'd towards Okehampton then possest by Sir Wm. Russell with his Regiment, who quickly left it and 4 iron gunnes in it ; There Sir Beville Grenville came up with his Regiment and joyn'd againe with the Army.

Major Generall Chudleigh giving great hopes of his conversion was brought along with the Army and verie civilly treated by the generall officers. At Okehampton hee declared himselfe well satisfied and drew up a letter to that purpose for his Father Sir Geo: Chudleigh, hoping to incline him to the like opinion, This letter with some others on Whitsunday in the after-noone was sent to Exon by Doctour Cox together with a trumpett, there being hopes that after this great defeate those att Exon, by Sir Geo: Chudleigh's meanes (a man then much honour'd amongst them espetially in matters of advice) would bee willing to yeild upon reasonable propositions. But it proved otherwise, for the Doctor being come into Exon was presently secur'd and strictly examined, and upon suspicion of swallowing some papers was enforc'd to take a vomitt by command of the Earle of Stamford which together with his strict imprisonment and other hard usage produc'd a verie dangerous sicknes, under which hee labour'd a very long tyme after.¹

¹ "There came letters to the Parliament this day from the Earl of Stamford and the Committee at Exeter, certifying that they had intercepted some letters coming from young Serjeant Major Chudley with Sir Ralph Hopton, whereby it did evidently appear that Chudley did perfidiously betray the Devonshire men at Stratton in Cornwall into the hands of Hopton's forces, and that he sent the said intercepted letters to his father Sir George Chudley a Chief Commander of horse for Devonshire advising him to lay down his arms and come to Sir Ralph Hopton for he had made his peace for him, and it would be looked upon as an acceptable service from his Majesty, and well rewarded ; adding withall that for his part he was fully convinced of his Majesties reall intentions and Protestations, rejoyceth in his so happy fortune to joyne with the Cornish, whom he extolls to be the onely religious gentlemen in the Kingdome and hath so little sense of his unworthy betraying the Devonians at Stratton that he gives God thanks for the victory the Cornish obtayned there. Which letters were intercepted about a Jesuit Doctor (Doctor Cox) whom Sir Ralph Hopton sent to Exeter under colour of another treaty but it is found out that the intent of sending him was no other but to put in practice another damnable designe to betray Exeter by blowing up the East gate with helpe of a vault under it. But this designe also being prevented Sir Ralph Hopton is leaving Cornwall and advancing with all his forces against Exeter to besiege it, but Exeter men have made preparations to receive him and have at this time 4000 stout men and six troops of horse."— "*A Perfect Diurnal*," (*King's Pamph.*, E. 249, No. 12.)

The army having stayed 3. or 4. dayes at Okehampton advanced to Crediton; and having stayed there 2 or 3 dayes and hearing of one Coll. Weare that was then leavying of men and keeping of guards at Tiverton, advanc'd thitherward, but in the way possest Sir John Acklands house at Collum-John scituate 3 miles to the east of Exon, where the Commanders left a troope of dragoones and two companyes of foote, with order to Sir Jo: Ackland, and other Gentlemen in those parts for the leavying of more forces to joyne to them; and so the Army upon Trinitie Sunday march'd on to Tiverton, where they were in hope to find Coll: Weare, but as it happen'd hee with his men had quitted the Barrocadoes there and were fledd, hardlie halfe an howre before their approach. Here the Army stay'd 2. or 3. dayes to setle the affections of that Countrey, which then appear'd to bee verie hopefull; from thence by the way of Bradninch they advanc'd to Collumpton where the Enymies horse appear'd on the topp of a Hill about 3 miles from that place, but came no nearer. The next day the Army advanc'd to Honyton, where they understoode those horse were drawn to lodge; but assoone as the forlorne hope came up to the Towne after some litle skirmish the Enymie quytte the Towne and fledd. Having rested a day at Honyton, they march'd thence to Axmister, and in the way thither mett Capt. Roscarrock with letters advertising that the Marquesse of Hertford was then about Yeovill with Prince Maurice and their forces, And so staying one night at Axmister they march'd the next day to Chard, which verie night the Marquesse and Prince Maurice came to Crewkerne, where Sir Ralph Hopton and others of the Generall officers wayted on them, and the next day both armies mett at Chard, where it was resolv'd that they should marche together towards Taunton, which they did accordinglie.¹

¹ We have seen that the King had despatched the Marquess of Hertford and Prince Maurice to the west to join Hopton. The papers taken from the latter's baggage at Sourton Down had revealed to the Parliament the King's desire that Hopton should get into touch with him. (See *King's Pamph.*, E. 100, No. 17.) The Parliament party in Somerset, with the view to prevent the junction of Sir Ralph Hopton with the Marquess of Hertford, "summoned the whole County to rise and keepe their randevouze at Taunton Deane." Colonels Popham and Strode were at Shepton with 4000 men with the same object.—"*A Perfect Diurnal.*" (*King's Pamph.*, E. 249, No. 36.)

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 23, NO. 1738 (4).

Lord Hopton's Relation from the Uniting of the Forces at Chard to the taking of Bristol by the King's Forces.

(From the middle of June to the end of July in 1643.)

His Majesties forces joyn'd at Chard . . . Junij. 1643. were in all about 4000 foote. 2000 horse and 300 dragoones, with about 16 field-pieces. (vizt. those that came with the Lo: Marquess Hertford and Prince Maurice, about 1500 horse and 1000 new-leavyed foote with 10 or 11. fyeld-pieces. And of the Cornish Army, about 3000. foote, 500 horse and 300 dragoones, all old souldyers, with 4 or 5 fyeld-pieces). They all marched together that Sunday, and at night had theire head-quarter at Barronett Portman's-house (Orchard) within two miles of Taunton. The next morning two of the Townse men came out to treat, but nothing being concluded that forenoone the Army advanced to fall upon the Towne, whereupon the Enemy in great hast retreated towards Bridgewater, and so Taunton was entred without resistance. (The Prisoners of the Castle taking the opportunity added to the terrour of the Enemy). There was founde in it a reasonable quantity of powder, and other amunition, and some iron-gunns.

There began the disorder of the horse visibly to breake in upon all the prosperity of the publike proceedings. The Towne agreing willingly to rayse and pay 8000*li.* composition, (which would have suffized for some weekes necessarie paye for the whole Army;) The Countrey being then full, and not relucting at free-quarter soberly taken, And the Generalls being verie fully advertiz'd of the opportunity to begin a discipline in the Army, and being of themselves verie desirous of it, were yet never able to repress the extravagant disorder of the horse to the ruine and discomposure of all.

The next morning came a cripple on horsebacke sent from some good subiects of Bridgewater to advertize that the Enemy had quitted that Towne, so a party was presently sent to seize it, which they did accordingly.

About the same time Mr. Francis Windham (since a

Colonell) his friends liveing neere Dunstar, and himselfe a verie discrete Gentleman, and haveing opportunities of conference with Mr. Lutterell of Dunstar-Castell found good inclinations in him to deliver that Castle for his Majestie's service, but much distracted and disturbed by some persons that were neere to him, yett the oportunity was taken, and the powers that the Generalls sent were so well managed by Mr. Francis Windham as he gott possession of the place. So, as it were in a breath, those three good places were gain'd, and all the West of Somerseshire settled. The Marques stayed in Taunton about 7. or 8. dayes, to give severall orders concerning these Garrisons and settled Sir John Stowell Governour of Taunton, Colonell Edmond Windham (then High-Sheriffe of that County) Governour of Bridgewater, and Mr. Francis Windham Governour of Dunstar-Castle.

Thence the Marquess with all the Army marched to Somerton, with intention to finde out the Enemy, who, afterwarde to the trouble of the King's Forces, but to their owne loss, were discovered to be drawn together in a body at Glastenbury about 4 miles from Somerton; So as Sir Ralph Hopton making his round (according to his custome in times of necessity about an hower before day) as the day brake mett some of the dragoones unhorst and hurt, which being quartered in a village towards Glastonbury about a mile from Somerton were just then beaten up by a party of the Enimye's horse, yet so luckely disputed by the Officers, as, though their guards were beaten, and the Enemy charg'd twice through their quarters, yet the loss was in a manner equall, and in the conclusion the advantage much the greater to the King's party. For occasion was hence taken, presently to drawe forth the Army, and advance towards them. Which the Enemy not daring to abide retreated in reasonable good order to Wells maintayning little skirmishes in the reare, and upon places of advantage. Nevertheles the Kinges Forces still pursuing they quitted Wells likewise; but drew into a verie considerable body on the topp of Mendhipp-hill lookeing downe towards Wells. Which Prince Maurice takeing notice of, verie prudently drew his horse through the Towne, and sett his guards of foote before he suffered any to quarter, and then with a good body of his horse advanced towards them, and without any charge from them, gain'd the top of the Hill leavell with them. There it

grew evident that they intended nothing but an orderly retreat, facing with a large front of their horse to give their foot and baggage some advantage of leisure, and then themselves upon the advance of the King's forces retired.

In this manner, both keeping their orders, marched over Mendhipp towards Chewton, and at the entrye out of the Heath into that village, the Enemy faced about againe with their horse being then about a mile before. The Earle of Carnarvon with his Regiment, being verie earnest to advance to the charge, was prevayl'd with to marche easily in a body till they came to a neerer distance, and till their reserve, which faced, were grown thinner, which opportunity fell out accordingly, and then the sayd Earle chargeing with great gallantry their reserve prest them all so hard, that he rowted the whole body of their horse and had the execution of them above two miles; But Sir Ralph Hopton being then with the Prince, and knowing best those parts (being his owne Countrey) gave his Highnes advertisement of the danger of pursuing too farr, Sir William Waller being then with a new Army at Bathe, not above 8 or 9 miles from Chewton, and a great garrison at Bristoll under the command of Mr. Fines at the like distance both doubtles advertized by their friends of the distress they were in, and drawing out what they could for their soccours.

Hereupon the Prince presently sent a messenger with speede after the Earle of Carnarvan to stay his pursuite, with order for his retreat; But the Earle's heate on the one side, and the Enimyes dilligence on the other side prevented all, so as Sir William Wallers fresh horse and dragoones prest the Earle of Carnarvan verie hard, and forced him to retreat; hee maintayned his orders till he came neere Chewton, and sent before to advertise Prince Maurice of the accident. Sir John Berkely being there present verie prudently and fortunatly advised the Prince to drawe back through Chewton, and to attende the Enemy in the plaine heath, that, in case of extremity, he might not be troubled with a narrowe passage, which he did accordingly, and thither the Earle of Carnarvan with his Regiment came in to him broken and chac'd by the Enemy, who immediatly drew up a large front of horse and dragoones, being at that time much stronger then the Prince, who besides the E. of Carnarvan's Regiment, had but part of his owne then with him. In which necessity His Highnes readily took a

gallant and souldier-like resolution, which was himselfe with those of his owne horse that were with him to presente the Enimy a briske charge, just as he was drawing up in the Heath by him, while the Earle of Carnarvan was rallying up his Regiment, and preparing to seaconde him as there should be cause. This His Highnes assoone executed verie vigorously, insomuch as he utterly brake and rowted that part of the Enimy's front that received the impression, But almost halfe the Enimy's horse, that, being extended larger then his front, were not charged, wheild about and charg'd the Prince in the reare, and at the same time the Earl of Carnarvan with his Regiment charged their reare, And all this so well performed as they were presently mixed pell mell one amongst the other, where the Prince received two hurtes in his head with a sould, and was beaten of his horse, But all the Enimy's horse being presently rowted and running, he was relieved and brought off, but the E. of Carnarvan and the rest of the horse followed the chace and returned not till 10. of the clock at night, where haveing done good execution upon the Enimy, with the loss of 30. or 40. men returned safe to the head quarter at Wells.

There consideration was had at a Councell of Warr of the Party left by the Commanders of the Cornish Army at Collum-john-house neere Exeter, (which had not onely made good that quarter but also increased their numbers, and in some measure streightned that Cittie espetially to the East-side thereof.) So a resolution was taken, and Sir John Berkely sent with Coll. Howard's Regiment of horse, to command the forces in those parts for the blocking up of that Cittie, which busines he performed so well, that he held the Towne streightly blockt and distressed till the Prince came downe to him, and beate of many relieves, and particularly the Earle of Warwick that came by Sea into the River of Ex neere Toppesham with a great power of men to raise the Siege, where he was repulsed and enforced to leave 3 of his shipps behind him, whereof one was burnt, and th'other two taken. But of that employment noe question Sir Jo: Berkeley hath a particular journall.¹

¹ "Out of Devonshire it is informed that the inhabitants of Barnstaple, Bidyford and Torrington are raising of an army in the north parts of that county to relieve the city of Excester which is now besieged at foure miles distance by the Lord Mohun, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Sir Peter Courtney, Carew the high Sheriffe and one Acland, who having gotten the scum of the counties of Cornwall and Devon have blocked up all the roads and wayes thereto, and have seized upon Apsom [Topsham] which lieth

Att Wells the Marquess and Prince stayed about 10. or 12 dayes to refresh theire troopes, Sir William Waller in the meane time holding his quarter about Bathe, whither there came to his assistance Sir Arthur Haselridge with a verie strong Regiment of extraordinarily arm'd horse (by the Royalists surnamed the Lobsters because of the bright iron-shell with which they were all couvered.)¹ Towards the latter end of the Armyes reposing at Wells, the chiefe Commanders grew impatient of so much ease so neere an Enimy, and so advanced to Froome; Whither Sir James Hamelton's 2 Regiments, one of horse and th'other of dragoones (that were sent away from Taunton to relieve the party about Exeter) returned to the Army. They at theire returne, were by advice of those that knewe the Country appointed theire quarters at Beckington, but Sir James Hamelton himselfe, being Major Generall of the horse, (yet ignorant of the Country) sent them to repose at Lye upon Mendhipp eaven in the Mouthe of the Enimy, for it was neerer Bathe then Frome was, and another way cleere out of the Armyes guards where the second night they were beaten up by the Enimy, and utterly broaken.

Upon Sunday the . . . [2nd July] the Army advanced to Bradford, where they had a pass over the River Avon at theire command, and were on either side within 4 miles of the Enimy's quarters.

The same night Sir William Waller advanced a great part of his Army, both horse, foote, and dragoones over the River under Claverton-house, where besides the Forde, he had made a Bridge, and a Redoubte on his side to defende bothe, reserving the other part of his Army with his Ordnance in Battalio on Claverton downe. With this part of the Army so drawn over the River, he advainced in the night and possest himselfe of the high-ground at Munckton-Farly and layd an Ambuscade in a Woodland-wald-grownd in the foote of the Hill, and so in the morning he advanced strong partyes of horse, upon theire out

upon the river of Ex towards the sea, who, though they are not able to win that City by assault yet may starve them for want of horse to open their passages, which army may (by God's blessing) bring them some succour, untill the Earle of Warwick can land his men at Tro-bay [Torbay] to drive those lewd persons from thence."—"Certaine Informations" (26 June-3 July). (*King's Pamph.*, E. 59, No. 1.)

¹ "Six gallant troops of horse went to him from London the last week under the command of Sir Arthur Hazlerigg."—*Weekly Intelligencer* (13th to 20th June, 1643). (*King's Pamph.*, E. 55, No. 8.)

guards of horse, which being then strong and well commanded by Major Lower. He held them up till the whole Army drew forth, which then in good order both horse and foote advanced towards the Enemy.

The Cornish foote in an hower or two beate the Enemy out of their Ambuscado, and then both foote and horse advanced upon their maine body on the topp of Munckton-farley hill, where they durst not stande them, and so they had the chace of them as farr as Bathe-Easton. In which chace and not before they discovered Sir Wm. Waller with his maine body on the other side of the water on the topp of Claverton downe with his Bridge and his worke before mentioned; Hereupon Prince Maurice turn'd the maine of the force of foote to gaine that pass, which he did just as it was night, and so Sir Wm. Waller in the darke retreated into Bathe. By this time many of the horse in pursuite of that part of the Enemy that fledd the other way, had passed into the fields under Landsdowne close by Bathe, where about 12. at night it was considered by the Officers there present, (whereof the principle were the E. of Carnarvan, Lo. Mohun, and Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Nicholas Slanning,) whither they should that night drawe to the topp of Lansdowne or not, and it was considered that they were there but a part of the Army, and that the rest of the Army being surprized by the night, after that daye's chace, might not be in verie good posture to receive concurrent orders; So they resolv'd to drawe back that night within Bath-Easton-bridge, and to advise with the Generall to quarter the Army in the best order they could, with a resolution to drawe out the next morning verie early, to try if they could prevente the Enemy of that high ground of advantage, which the next morning early they endeavoured with a little more heate then was altogether expedient, for moveing verie early with all their horse, foote, cannon and baggage towards Landsdowne, by that time they came to the foote of the hill, the Enemy, by the advantage of his neernes to it, was possest of the ground, and themselves with the whole Army, espetially the Carriages, which were most troublesome, engaged in a field, just under them, out of which there were verie inconvenient wayes to retreat, to advance noe possibility, and to stay there least of all, for the Enimye's cannon played in to them, and they had noe meanes to requite them.

So about one in the afternoone the chiefe Commanders resolved of a retreate towards Marsfield, and committed the order of it to Sir Ralph Hopton, who drawing up the Army in the best order he could to face the Enemy, first sent of the cannon and carriages with convenient guards by the 2 narrow lanes that went from thence towards Marsfield, and presently after sent 1000. muskettiers to line the hedges upon the entrance of both those wayes, then he sent off the Army in parts, remayninge onely to hold up the Enemy with a strong forlorne hope of horse, with which at last he marched off without any loss, and drew a strong party of the Enimy's horse within the Ambuscado of muskettiers, which haveing tasted they quickly retired. And so they Army came that night safe to Marsfield, sending out there parties of horse everie way to secure there quarters.

The next morning earlie Sir Wm. Waller drew out his whole Army over Lansdowne to that ende which lookes towards Marsfield, and there upon the verie point of the hill, over the high way suddenly raysed breast workes with faggotts and earth, and sent downe strong parties of horse into the field towards Marsfield, where they lighted upon a party of horse and beate them in. This rowded the Army at Marsfield and so about 8 that morning being the 13th¹ of July 1643. all drew forth, and within verie short time a light skirmish was engaged with dragoones in the hedges on eache side; but the chiefe Commanders of the King's Army, considering that the continuuing of that kinde of fight would be to little effect, but might onely waste there Ammunition (whereof they had not plenty) drew off and retreated in Batalio towards there quarter to Marsfield, which the other Army perceivinge tooke the courage to sende downe great parties of arm'd horse and dragoones to charge them both in reare and flanke. Those that came upon the reare used most dilligence and, haveing left there dragoones in the ende of the Lane towards the Field charged verie gallantly, and rowded two bodyes of there horse, whereof the last was, by Prince Maurice his command to Sir Ralph Hopton winged with Cornish Muskettiers, who (poore men) though the horse were rowded between them kept there ground and preserv'd themselves till the E. of Carnarvan's Regiment of horse was drawn up to them. In the meane time Sir Nicholas Slanning was

¹ Mistake in the MS. It should be the 5th.

commanded with two or three hundred muskettiers to fall upon the reserve of dragoones behinde them, which he performed verie gallantly and beate them off; and at the same time the Earle of Carnarvan with his Regiment and the forementioned muskettiers charged the Enimy's horse and totally rowted them. Presently after this appeared two great bodyes of the Enimy's horse advancing towards their flank, which induced a good charge of two bodyes of the King's horse, and some volleys of muskettiers before they brake, but at last were rowted and chaced. And then the whole army in the best order they could in that broad way that leads to Lansdowne, advanced towards the Enemy, sending out as they went strong parties of muskettiers on each hand to seconde one another, to endeavour under the covert of the inclosed groundes to gaine the flank of the Enemy on the topp of the Hill, which they at last did, but the Pikes and the horse with the rest of the Muskettiers that advanced up the broad way, as the space would beare, had much to doe, by reason of the disadvantage of the ground, the Enimy's foote and batteryes being under covert of their breast-workes, and their horse ready to charge upon the verie browe of the Hill; where the King's forces were five times charg'd and beaten back with disorder. There was Sir Bevil Grenville slayne in the head of his Pikes, and Major Lower in the head of a party of horse, and Sir Nicholas Slanning's horse kild under him with a greate shott, and the whole body of horse soe discomforted that of 2000 there did not stand above 600. Yett at last they recovered the hill, and the Enemy drew back about demi-culverin-shott, within a stone-wall, but there stoode in reasonable good order, and each part played upon the other with their ordnance, but neither advanced being both soundly batter'd.

So the night came on, and all things grew quiett, where Prince Maurice, and Sir Ralph Hopton remayning in the heads of the troopes all that night, aboute one of the clocke heard an advancing of horse and foote, but without drum or trumpett, and they presently received a smart vollye from the Enimy's muskettiers, which was answered with the like, but being verie darke noe more was done, and all things grew quiett againe. So after an howers silence, the chiefe Commanders before mentioned rightly iudging that this might be the Enimy's parting blowe, gave a common Souldier a rewarde to creepe softly towards the

place where the Enimy stooode, to bring certaine notice whither they were retreated or no, who found them gone. By this time it was towards breake of daye, and in the morning the Commanders founde themselves possest of the field, and of the dead, and of 3. or 400. of the Enimye's armes, and 9. or 10. barrells of theire powder, and so about 9 in the morning they retired with the Army to Marsfield; where they rested the next day, principally by reason of Sir Ralph Hopton, he having bin in the beginning of the battell shott through the arme, and in the ende of it blowen up with gun-powder, and so was verie unfitt to be removed the next daye.

In the meane time Sir Wm. Waller, haveing intilligence of the blowing up of the amunition (which perhaps made a greater report to him, as it is usuall in such cases then it was in itselfe, it being but one Carte where in there were but eight barrells of powder) and withall verie well knowing that amunition was then verie scarce in the King's Army, lost noe time but recreated himselfe from Bristoll, and from the present generall inclinations of the Country with fresh men and amunition, and all other things necessary. And upon Friday 16th¹ of July, when the King's Army marched from Marsfield to Chepenham, he was ready to marche after them from Bathe, whereof the King's army in theire marche quickly had notice from the party that couvered theire reare, yett came not so neere as to incommode att all that daye's march. So they quartered that night at Chepenham, and the next morning early upon notice of Sir Wm. Wallers advancing, the Generalls drew back over Chepenham-bridge and presented the Army in battaileo towards him, and so stooode all that night, but the Enimy not coming on, the day following being Sunday they drew backe in the morning early to Chepnenham and so advanced towardes the Devides.

And the Enimy takeing notice of the oportunity of theire marche (which it seemes they expected) advanced after them, and politiquely sent a trumpett to offer a pitcht-field, at a place I knowe not where out of the waye, But the Lo: Generall well understoode that that was only to gaine time, and knewe the Army to be in no excellent condition for such a busines, So he marcht on keeping the trumpett with him or 2 for 3 miles

¹ So in the MS. The date should be the 7th July. An account by an officer of the Parliament, which is very specific as to dates, gives "Saturday" as the day of this march to Chippenham.—"*A True Relation*," etc. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 61, No. 6.)

and then sent him back with an answeare fitt for the question whereof I cannot now give the particulars, the copyes of both lettres remaine in the handes of the Lo: Marquess his Secretarie. But Sir Wm. Waller was carefull to husband his time, and that afternoone fell sharpely upon the reare of the Army about 3. miles before they came to the Devizes, where they found so hansome a resistance, as although they opinionatred much upon it, yet it prov'd to their loss, and the Army drew safe with little loss into the Devizes. Where haveing made their quarters, and findeing it verie impossible in that poore Towne open on everie side long to subsist either for matter of provision or defence, at a Councell of Warr held that evening in Sir Ralph Hopton's lodgeing by reason of his indisposition, (he being then not able to move himself thence but as he was carryed in a chaire, It was there unanimously resolved upon consideration of their present condition, and the Enimye's certaine and powerfull advance, that the Lo: Generall the Marques of Hertford and Prince Maurice with all the horse would be pleased to breake out that night, and to marche with what speede they could to recover Oxford; and that Sir Ralph Hopton assisted by the Earle of Marleborough, Lo: Mohun, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Sir Thomas Bassett, Coll: Buck and others should remaine there with the foote and cannon to defende that quarter till succours might returne from Oxford. This was executed accordingly, and that night¹ the Marquess and the Prince with the Horse gott cleere of the Enimy, and the next morning the Enimy with all his forces drew about the Devizes.

That morning Capt. Pope, who was Comptroller under the Earle of Marleborough then Generall of the Ordnance, being a carefull man, came verie pensive to Sir Ralph Hopton to his lodgeing, and inform'd him, that haveing given out ammunition for the first action, he had but 150 lb. weight of match left, Whereupon Sir Ralph Hopton instantly commanded the said Pope with all possible dilligence to take a guard, and goe from house to house, and gather together all the bed-cords in the Towne, and to cause them to be beaten and boyled, as he was directed. By which suddaine expedient, they had by the next morning fifteen hundred waight of that sort of match in store which served the turne.

¹ "Monday," says the writer of "*The True Relation*," ante.

Munday and Tuesday was spent in repulsing the continuall storms of the Enemy, which both night and day attempted them in severall partes with foote horse and cannon. Wednesday by occasion of a trumpett sent to the Enemy for free passage for Sir Bevil Grenville's body (which by the way, though granted, was not so honerably performed, as from Sir Wm. Wallers antient friendship with him might justly be expected). By that occasion, I say, there fell a specche of a Treatye, where after some Messages to and fro, Coll. Buck was imployed out to Sir Wm. Waller, and Sir Ralph Hopton gain'd all that he look'd for which was seaven or eight howers rest to his men, and sparing of his Amunition.

The next morning there was notice brought to Sir Ralph Hopton in to his Lodging that the Enemy drew off, and upon inquiry finding that he drew off towards the downes he presently concluded, that the expected succours from Oxford¹ were at hand, and gave order to have all the souldiers in their quarters in readines to marche out. Verie shortly after Prince Maurice and Lo: Wilmot who were returned with a verie gallant party of the King's horse, appeared 3. miles off upon the hills, and haveing Ordnance with them gave two gunns for a warning to the Towne, which was answered againe by the Earle of Marleborough from the old Castle where the Trayne was.

Then againe Sir Ralph Hopton, calling the principale Officers to him, propounded to drawe out with the forces they had the Enemy being by thut time drawen into Battalio 3 miles from them upon the topp of a hill, and the charge (whereof all their horse were fortunatly rowted) shortly after ensuing. But the major part of the principle officers apprehendinge, reasonably enough, that all that was scene might be but a stratajem of Sir Wm. Wallers to gett the forces out of the Towne, prevail'd with him to delay, untill some officers came downe from the Prince, who brought assurance that the Enemyes horse were rowted and chaced, but that the foote stode still firme in a body. Hereupon the foote in the Devizes marched out, leaveing onely ordinarie guards for the cannon

¹ Waller had sent an express to the Parliament to urge that a force should be sent to hinder any relief from the Royalists at Oxford, and to intercept any who might attempt to reach that place from Devizes, but the plan could not be executed in time. —See *Weekly Intelligencer*. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 61, No. 1.)

and baggage upon whose approache the Enimy's foote brake and suffer'd the execution of the horse.¹

So Sir William Waller being totally defeated gott into Bristoll with a few horse, and so passed thence awaye, and left Bathe free to the King's Army, which they possest within few dayes after.

And having rested some few dayes at Bathe upon assignation betweene the Generalls and Prince Rupert who was by that time advancing with a good party of horse, foote and cannon of the King's Army. Upon the 24th of July they both sate downe before Bristoll, Prince Rupert upon the Gloucestershire side, And the Western Army upon the Summerset side of that City. And at the same time they seized the shippes that were in Kings roade, wherein they tooke divers considerable prisoners. And upon the 26th of the same moneth they stormed the lyne on both sides, and entred upon the Gloucestershire side, yet not without the assistance of 1000. of the Western Muskettiers, and lodged with in the workes, but without the walles of the towne. Hereupon the Governour presently treated, and that night agreed to deliver the Castle and Towne by composition, which the next morning was executed accordingly.²

At this unhappie assault, of the King's forces were lost divers extraordinarie good men as Collonell Henry Lunsford and Coll. Bucke with other good officers kild upon the place, and Sir Nicholas Slanning Coll: John Trevanion, and Lieut: Coll: Moyle who shortly after dyed of their hurtes.

In and about this Towne both the Armys stayed 10. or 12. dayes much to the prejudice of the future service. But this delay was occasioned by an unfortunate difference betweene Prince Rupert, and the Lo: Marques of Hertford about the Government of that Garrison, the Lo: Marquess haveing given it to Sir Ralph Hopton confiding in the interest he had, being Generall of the Western Army and particularly Lo: Lieutenant. of Bristoll. Prince Rupert with extraordinary dilligence procur'd from the King a Pattent to be Governour of it himselfe before his Majestie had notice of the Marquess his disposition of it. This unhappy occasion offer'd verie faire at a great

¹ This was the battle of Roundway Down, fought on Thursday, July 13th. There is a short account of it in Rushworth, vol. v. p. 285.

² The articles of surrender are printed in Rushworth, vol. v. p. 284.

disturbance in the King's affaires, the greatest of the Court being ready to take partes in it; So as the King himselfe came thither to settle it, havinge before written a leter to Sir Ralph Hopton about it, the copy whereof hereinsueth.

“CHARLES R.

“Trusty and well belov'd wee greete you well, wee rather intended to have testified unto you the acknowledgement of your great services unto us, by some reall testimony of our favours, then to have told it you this way in writing, but wee cannot at this time be silent, because haveing heard that the Marquess of Hertford haveing intended to make you Governour of our recovered Cittye of Bristoll, and wee haveing thought fitt to confer the same upon our Nephew Prince Rupert, Wee have thought it necessarie to assure you, that in this wee have bin so far from intending you thereby any disrespect, as we never heard, nor imagined that you should have bin named to that command, knowing how necessarie your continuall presence is to our Western Army, assuring you that wee can thinke noe man fitter for that command then yourselfe (it being by farre too little a recompence for your great deservings) and therefore haveing dealt thus freely with you, and haveing expressed our estimation of you (which wee shall better express in our actions then wee have done in words) wee are most confident that you will not onely rest satisfied in this particular, but also make knowen to all your friends the true vallue wee sett upon you, and hinder any misinterpretations, that malitious people may sett upon this accion of ours, for certainly wee too much esteeme our Nephew P. Rupert, to make him a means of putting any disrespect upon any Gentleman especially upon one wee so much esteeme as you, and wee are confident that his particular estimation of you is such, that he will rather seeke wayes to oblige you, then to give you any distast. And so wee bid you hartely farewell. Given at our Court at Oxford the 29th day of July 1643.”

But Sir Ralph Hopton abhorring verie much that His Majesties affaires should be disturbed by any concernement of his, disposed all his endeavours to the composing the busines betweene the two great Lords, and for himselfe wholly submitted to his Majestie's pleasure; So being not yett recovered of his

hurtes he remayned at Bristoll with Commission of Lieutenant Governour to Prince Rupert, with some ragged Regiments to begin a Garrison. Prince Rupert with the rest of the Troopes belonging to the King's Army marched from thence to that fatale Siege of Gloucester, and Prince Maurice with what remayn'd of the Western Army, marched for the West by the waye of Dorsetshire, and there verie fortunatly reduced Dorchester and Weymouth and thence drew to the Siege of Exeter.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 23, NO. 1738 (6).

Lord Hopton's Account of the Battle of Alresford, with his motions for some time previous thereto.

The Lord Hopton being thus left at Bristoll (for then it was that he received that Honour) with six verie weake Regiments of foote, in all not makeing above 1200 men, and Prince Maurice his Regiment of horse, (which were not then above 200) considered in the first place not to loose the oportunity of recrewting these Regiments with new leavies, which was then verie faire, men coming in freely to the new Government and expecting reasonable meanes of subsistance, which expectation if the Lord Hopton had bin able to continnew to them, it would certainly have proved a Garrison able to have recrewted most of the King's Armyes; for within ten dayes, he received His Majesties order from before Gloucester to send thither 500. commanded muskettiers, which he sent accordingly under the command of two officers of his owne, Captain Neale Mackworth (who falling sick was taken prisoner at the rysing from before Gloucester) and Capt. Thomas Randall, (who served very gallantly with them at the first Battell of Newbery, and was there slayne) and the remainder of those muskettiers were there disposed of into other Regiments of the Army.

And within eight dayes after (for it was before the rysing from Gloucester) there came a second command from His Majesty for as many horse and foote as could well be spar'd out of the Garrison, whereupon the Lord Hopton drew out fower foote Regiments, (leaving then but the Princes and his owne in the Towne) which fower Regiments marched off neere upon 2000 foote, and Prince Maurice his Regiment of horse full out

400 horse, and these came time enough to the quarters, to marche off with the Army from before Gloucester, and to do good service at the Battell of Newbery which shortly after ensued. And from Newbery, a little before the battell began, the Lord Hopton received a third order from his Majestie by leter from my Lord of Falkeland (which was one of the last leters that ever that worthy person writt) and was presently after seconded by a Message from the King by Doctour Weekes, both which came to him . . . between 8 and 10 of the clock in the forenoone, commanding him to draw out what could possibly be spared out of the garrison of Bristoll, and to come with them himselfe to Newbery, in obedience wherunto the Lord Hopton drew out between seaven and 800 foote, and between 4 and 5. hundred horse with a competent proportion of amunition on horsebacke (leaving in the Towne about 1200 foote to make good the guards till his returne). And with this little body he advanced from Bristoll the same day between 1. and . . . of the clock, and quartered that night at Marsfield, and the next day came to Marleborough, where he mett with the newes of the unfortunate issue of that battaill, and of the King's being retired to Oxford. So he left his troopes there, and went himselfe to Oxford to receive His Majesties farther orders; where being commanded to stay some few dayes, he sent his orders to his foote to drawe back to Bristoll, and to his horse to march to Tedbury to secure his returne.

Being then at Oxford His Majestie commanded him to attend a Committee of the Lords at the Lord Threasurer's lodging in Oriell-Colledge, where was imparted to him His Majestie's resolution, that being reasonably well recovered of his hurts, he should drawe into the feild for the cleering of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Hamshire, and so point forward as farr as he could go towards London. And to make a body of an Army, the Earle of Crafford with his Regiment of horse and dragoons, and divers other new Regiments of horse were assigned to him, but for foote there was noe meanes to helpe him, but that he was to drawe what he could out of his owne quarters, and so for ordinance, and amunition; But 6000l. in money was promised to be payed in to him at Bristoll within 14 dayes. Whereof he never received but 1500l. And so he was enforced to pawne his contribution of Bristoll for 20. weekes for 3000l. to enable him to drawe forth.

This being resolved, the Lo: Hopton returned to Bristoll, and in his way towards Tedbury (where his convoy lay) he mett a Messenger from Major Maxwell, (who was then, by Commission from His Highnes Prince Rupert, Governour of Berkeley) earnestly pressing for releife, Coll. Massey out of Gloucester haveing suddenly falne upon him, and beaten him out of the Church-yard, and possest himselfe of the Church and Tower, and forced him into the Castle, where from the Tower, he was very well able to annoy him. The Lord Hopton forthwith sent away orders to Lieutenant Colonell Walter Slingsby, (who was then his Deputy Governour at Bristoll) to dispatche away his Major Spurr, with 200. mounted muskettiers to meete him at Sadbury the next day, which was so punctually executed, that at his comeing to Sadbury, he found them there reasonably refreshed, and ready to marche; And so he forthwith advanced with this party of horse, and mounted muskettiers to Berkeley, hoping to surprize the surprizer. Butt Coll. Massey, being a vigilant Commander, was retreated before he came, and so he did the busines he came for with, more ease then he expected; And haveing spent some howers there in veiwing that place, and considering what might be fitt for it, he hastened to Bristoll; where entring into an accompt of what the army should be that he was to forme, he called for lists upon reputation from all the foote-officers, whereby he hoped to have joyned a body of 2000 foote; But some of the Officers proved not so just as he expected, so he fell short of his number.

He also took the like course among the horse and dragoones, haveing now drawn up to him his owne Regiments of horse and dragoones, and Sir Edw: Stowell with his Regiment, and Lo: Marquis of Hertford's, and Sir Geo: Vaughan's Regiments being still in Wiltshire, besides the other Regiments added to his command, and some beginnings of Regiments in Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, which in all might make about 1600 horse, And for a trayne he had some smale feild-pieces, which he resolved then to make use of, and amunition out of his magazene, which began then to be in a growing condition. About this time there came into Bristoll two Regiments from Ireland commanded by Sir Charles Vavaser and Sir Jo: Paulet, they both might make between 4. and 500 foote, bold, hardy men, and excellently well officer'd, but the common-men verie

mutenous and shrewdly infected with the rebellious humour of England, being brought over meerly by the vertue, and loyalty of their officers, and large promisses, which there was then but smale meanes to performe. But the Lord Hopton, struggling through all exigentes as well as he could, prepared speedely to draw forth, and design'd to have fallen first upon Warder Castle, being a busines, (as he supposed) would not have cost him many dayes, (notwithstanding the obstinat courage of Mr. Ludlow, who defended it) And to that purpose he sent orders to fetch fower great iron-gunns from Weymouth, with pretence, for the workes at Bristoll; and gave those Irish-Regiments quarters about Bathe, with private directions to their officers, to drawe them, upon pretence of bettering their quarters, on towards Warmister and Hinden, resolving, with them, and the rest to have fallen suddenly upon Warder; and so, upon reasonable successe there, to have falne upon Lyme, and block up Poole; All which (as he conceived) was very feasible; and by this meanes to have left no Enemy at his back. Though afterwards, he was enforced, (against his owne judgement, and to the future great prejudice of the service) to alter that Councell, by reason that Sir Wm. Ogle had, without his knowledge, and very untimely for his designes, surprized the Castle of Winchester and procured Commission for the command of it from Oxford; with Coll: Gerards (now the Lo: Gerard) his Brigade of horse, and Coll: Innis with Pr. Rupert's Regiment of dragoones, and Lieut. Coll. Morley, with the Lo: Wentworth's dragoones, to come to him to support him, till the Lo: Hopton was able to advance to his reliefe, which he forth-with most earnestly importun'd, procuring likewise letters from Oxford signifying His Majesties command to the same effect.

So as the Lo: Hopton being then necessitated to leave his first designe, resolved (as he conceived) upon the next best, which was to appointe Sir Cha: Vavaser to draw his Regiment to Henden, and there to joyne with the two Boyers (who had with their 2. troopes of dragoons for some time reasonably secured the Country from the offence of that garrison of Warder) And with the 4. before mentioned iron gunns, which were delivered him at Funtill, to endeavour the reducing of that Castle. And at the same time appointed a meeting with all the Gentlemen of Quality and chiefe-officers of Dorsett shire at Blanford, to compose all differences betweene them, and to

take veiwe of the forces of horse and foote that they had leavyed, deviding to every of them severall quarters of the County, and intending to leave among them Coll: Barnard Ashley, with the Marquis of Hertford's Regiment of foote (that was but weake) and Coll: Griffin, with a little Regiment of his owne (which was weaker) to maintaine the block of Poole, and Chideock-house towards Lyme, And so to hold up the Enemy in other parts of the County, till he was able to returne to them. And to that end he devided the whole contribution of that County amongst them all (which was 1000l. a weeke) But Coll: Barn: Ashley (whom the Lo: Hopton intended for Major Generall of that County (falling then sick, and continuing so for some moneths; And Sir Anthoney Ashley Cooper goeing without his Lordships knowledge to Oxford, and procuring orders to disturbe the Contribution; And the rest of the Gentlemen, though intending very well to His Majesties service, yet proving unsuccesfull in their proceedings, the King's affaires impair'd apace in that County. The Lo: Hopton in the meane time, at the importunity of Sir Wm. Ogle from Winchester, especially for foote, till he were able to advance with the whole body, sent him Coll: Allen Apsley with about 600 foote, and Major Day with a party of dragoones, and a proportion of amunition. And appointed a Rendezvous for the rest of the forces at Amesbury.

Where on the day assigned he came, and there he found the horse in good numbers, and the Ordinance, and Amunition come safe thither, but the foote which he expected (saving about 300. of his owne Regiment which he brought out of Bristoll) utterly fayled, which cast him into a very great difficulty. But he resolved to advance with what he had to Andover, where Coll: Gerard with his Brigade was then quartered, Depending upon his intelligence for the state of the Enemy in that Country, he came (as he had design'd it) into Andover, 3 or 4 howers within night, and there kept his men in guard, till he had consulted with Coll: Gerard, who came immediately to him at his lodgeing, and the Earle of Craford with him. The Lord Gerard presently assured him that Sir Wm. Waller was that night come into Alsford (six little miles from Winchester) with a form'd Army, reputed to be about 5000. foote, and between 2000 and 3000 horse, and a good trayne of Artillery, and that he resolved to advance to

Winchester the next day. In this exigent there being little hope but in the reputation that he had there, rather then in his strength, the Lo: Hopton presently gave out his orders for all to be ready to marche, an hower or two before day, but gave secret orders to the trayne to appointe onely two field-pieces with amunition on horseback to marche with him, and the rest of the trayne and foote to turne off back to Amesbury. Himselfe with the horse and dragoones, and those 2. little pieces, advanced to Winchester.

It pleased God that this resolution succeeded verie well; for Sir Wm. Waller haveing intelligence of his speedy advance, and beleving his power to be greater, retired with his Army from Alsford, and sate downe before Basing-house; Which proved very convenient for the Lo: Hopton, who thereby gayn'd 10. or 12. dayes to forme his busines at Winchester whither he with ease and safty drew his trayne, and those few foote from Amesbury. But finding his great want of foote and the necessity that there would be within few dayes to advance towards the releife of Basing house, he cast every way to supply himselfe. And not haveing heard of the proceedings of the Irish Regiment at Warder, and doubting that nothing but money would make them tractable, he went himselfe thither from Winchester, and carryed 300l. with him; where comeing to Funtill he was presently entertain'd by Sir Cha: Vavaser and Lo: Arundell of Warder (who was then there) with a complaint, that the Regiment lying at Henden was in a high muteny against theire officers, insomuch as they durst not adventure to come amongst them. Whereupon the Lo: Hopton that night appointed a Rendez-vous of Sir George Vaughan's Regiment of horse, and of the two troopes of dragoones neere Henden, and with them, the next morning early fell into the Towne upon the mutineers, took some of the Principale, and commanded the rest of the regiment to drawe out. And upon that terror, and the execution of two or three of the principale offendours he drew the Regiment quietly to Winchester. And, to supply the block of Warder, he drew Coll: Barnes thither with a new Regiment of about 300 foote, (as the Coll: accompted them,) which he had some moneths before bin leavying in Dorsetshire by Commission from the Lord Hopton; Who in his returne to Winchester mett on the way Sir Thomas Biron, with the Prince's Regement of

horse, which, through His Majestie's favour and goodnes, was sent to his assistance, and, by the excellent conduct of that honest Gentleman, was afterwards of great use to him.

He had likewise about this time drawn from Bristoll Sir John Paulet (whom he made his Major Generall of foote) with his Regiment; And by other fortunate recruits grew able to draw out of Winchester about 2000 foote, for any service; for which he was quickly called upon; for the Lo: Marquis of Winchester being hard prest in Basing-house by Sir Wm. Wallers forces, sent him out a letter by a woman, wherein he gave him notice of the last day that he was able to hold out, which (as the Lord Hopton remembreth) was the 12th day after Sir Wm. Wallers comeing before it and earnestly prest for reliefe. The Lo: Hopton sent back the woman with assurance of reliefe by that time, and writt to Oxford to desire what assistance might be spar'd out of Reding for that service, which was granted and very well executed by Sr. Jacob Ashley (now Lord Ashley) who, upon signification from the Lord Hopton, mett him at Kingscleere with 900. excellent foote, Lord Percyes Regiment of horse, and two field pieces. And at the same time came to him Coll. Bellasis his Regiment of horse commanded by Major Bovill. From Kingscleere they advanced very early the next morning to Basing,¹ being now a very handsome little army of neere 3000. foote, and dragoones, about 2000. horse and a good trayne of Artillery; when they came neere Basing, they found Sir Wm. Waller risen, and retreated with his Army to Farnham. So the Lo: Hopton haveing rested, and refreshed his troopes that night at Basing, with the advice of his Councell of Warr, resolved to advance towards the Enemy, and to quarter in, and about Odiam.

At Basing Coll: Gerard desired leave for himselfe to returne to Oxford, upon som spetiall occasion he then had, which the Lo: Hopton granted, but with regret to loose the assistance of so gallant a person. While these two Armyes lay at Odiam

¹ The Lord Hopton "is certainly come up to Basing, and Sir Jacob Ashley is marched from Redding with 3000 foot and there is a great party of horse from the King falling downe that way too; Hopton has foure-thousand wood-heads strong, the designe is for Kent, and especially at Sir William Waller, whom if they could defeat again, they thinke they had done halfe a Southerne businesse, but we hope in God the Welch Wood-heads will never fight well so farre from ther country and it hath been observed in them before, that they will never stand a battell out of their owne Principality."—"The Complete Intelligencer." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 76, No. 19.)

and Farnham, scarce a day passed without some action or other. Amongst the rest Van Drust,¹ a principale Commander of horse of Sir Wm. Waller's army, taking notice that Sir Edw. Stowell with his Regiment, and a troope, or two more, quartered at Sutton (a quarter very untenable) and therefore the Lo: Hopton had given Sir Edw. Stowell an Officer of his owne with 30. d[r]agoons, to helpe to strengthen it). The said Van Drust, with a strong party of horse and dragoones attempted that quarter about two howers before day, but he was at the entrance so well entertain'd by the dragoones, and so hansomly charg'd by Sir Edw: Stowell himselfe in the midst of that quarter, as he was broken, rowted, and chaced some miles homeward, having left behinde him 7. or 8. of his men dead in the quarter. Sir Edw. Stowell's Major was there unfortunatly taken, els Vandrust carryed nothing away with him, but 2 pistoll-bulletts shott in his shoulder and divers of his men hurt. At Odiam Sir John Berkely came up to the Army with a reasonable good party of horse and dragoones, and about 1000 of his foote came up a day or two after him. So the Lo: Hopton being now growen to a competent strength, with the advice of his Councell of warr did resolve to draw out to Farnham to see the countenance of the Enemy ;

And so . . . [on Tuesday, 28th Nov., 1643] about an hower before day he drew out all his horse and foote, (saving reasonable guards which he left upon his quarters and upon the trayne (for he carryed but 2 smale pieces with him) and presented himselfe in battell upon the neerest part of the heath towards Farnham, and drew out 1000 Muskettiers and some parties of horse to advance towards their quarters to draw them out. But Sir Wm. Waller, resolving not to hazard a battaill, drew out his foote into the little Parke, close under the Castle, and kept his horse close, playing onely with his cannon out of the Castle, and resolving, as he did afterwards, very souldyer-like, to take his advantage upon our retreat. The Lo: Hopton, after some time perceiving that there was nothing counsellably to be done in that place retreated, advancing his foote, and his two little peices to the ende of the Heath, there to make a stand towards Odiam upon the edge of the inclosures, and made his retreat, as orderly as he could, over the hill with his horses, his reare being all the

¹ Van Druske.

way very smartly entertain'd by the Enemy;¹ And so he retreated without disorder, or any considerable losse, back to his quarters. Where, upon consultation with his Officers, it appearing that those quarters grew bare, and that there was little good to be done upon the enemy, being so sheltered under the Castle of Farnham, he remov'd his own Tertio to Alsford, Sir Jo: Berkely with his horse, and foote to Petersfield, and left Sir Jacob Ashleys foote, and the Lo: Craford's horse and dragoones at Alton, intending speedely to remove them from thence to Midhurst, and Cowdrey-house, having by Sir E. Ford sent order to the Lo: Craford and Sir Jac. Ashley, and by another Officer to Sir Jo: Berkely, assoone as they should come to their quarters, to prepare each of them a party of dragoones to meete at Cowdrey-house, and possesse themselves of it the next morning; But, by great misfortune the designe was discovered, and the Enemy putt men into Cowdrey-house that night; which fayler proved to be the beginning of the Lo: Hopton's misfortunes, for till that time, it had pleased God to blesse him from the beginning of the warr with reasonable good successe, without any considerable disaster. But, by this fayler, he was prevented in the most important part of his designe, which was, by fortifying the passe at Midhurst, to have had that winter a fayer entrance through Sussex into Kent.² besides he had escaped the great misfortune that befell him afterwards at Alton.

His Army being thus drawn into severall quarters betweene Winchester, and the Enemy, and haveing yet, by his quarter at Petersfield, an entrance into Sussex, he consulted with Sir Jo:

¹ As usual, exaggerated reports were published. Lord Hopton was said to be dangerously wounded, and many hundreds of cavaliers were reported killed. The Parliament was listening to a sermon in St. Margaret's when the messenger arrived with Sir William Waller's report to the Speaker. "One thing very remarkable is this; that as Master Bridges was preaching unto them this doctrine, viz. Though God doe suffer the enemies of his Church to be great and exceeding many yet God will raise up a power to withstand and over-power them. Even at that very instant this message came in a letter from Sir William Waller to the Speaker, as if God was pleased to send our Senators a signe from Heaven of the certainty of the fulfilling of his promises."—"A Great Over-throw," etc. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 77, No. 14.)

² Early in June, 1643, it was said that "letters were intercepted of great concernment and sent to the Parlt. discovering the designe of the Cavaliers to come with one Army commanded by Marquesse of Hartford and Sir Ralph Hopton as soon as they joynd into Sussex and so to Kent and with the helpe of a party in those counties to possesse themselves of the River of Thames thereby to cut off shipping from coming to London." (*King's Pamph.*, E. 105, No. 8.)

Berkley to send a considerable party of horse and foote to endeavour the surprize of Arundell Castle. Upon which Sir Edw. Ford, and Coll. Bampheild, were sent, and lodg'd in the Towne of Arundell. About that time Sir Jo: Berkly went himselfe to Oxford, and so returned into the West. And the party at Arundell dispayring to take the Castle, and apprehending theire owne danger in that place; writt to the Lo: Hopton to desire him to send a stronger party to fetch them off. Hee, being loath to quitt the hope of that place, took a suddaine resolution to draw a stronger party of horse and foot out of Petersfield, and marched with them himselfe by night to Arundell, where comeing in in the morning with shew of asmuch terror to the Castle and new endeavours upon it as he could make, the Captaine delivered it up to him that day, and marched out with about 80 men, with reasonable conditions. So he putt Sir Edw: Ford (the then high sheriffe of that County) into the command of the Castle, and appointed Coll: Bampheild to command the whole quarter, with about 700 foote and three Regiments of horse besides some loose troops,

And so the Lo: Hopton retyr'd to Petersfield where having the dangerous quarter of Alton continually in his care, he went thither the next day to visite it, and there to conferr with the E. of Craford, and Coll: Bolles. (Sir Jacob Ashley having some few dayes before desired leave to returne to Reading for awhile). There the Lo: Hopton, veiwing the large extent and unsecurity of that quarter, left expresse order with the E. of Craford, and Coll. Bowles, to keepe as good guards and intelligence upon the Enemy as possibly they could, and that, if ever he found that the Enemy moved out of Farnham with a body, they should presently quitt that quarter, and retreat to him. And so he returned to Alsford, and to Winchester. He had some few dayes before commanded Sir Humfry Benet with his Regiment of horse, and Sir Wm. Courtney with his Regiment of foote to possesse Rumsey, to the end they might be alwayes in action against the garrison of Southampton; But Sir H. Benet, being then high Sheriffe, and, by reason of his great services in that office, not able to attend his Regiment, and there falling out, in his absence, disorder and discontent, amongst his officers, which caused likewise disorder, disobedience, and carelesness in theire guards; And Sir Wm. Courtney observing the inconvenyencies that were likely to grow by it,

comeing over himsele to Winchester to speake with Sir Humphry Benet about it, it happened, that Coll: Norton out of Hampton, fell suddenly upon that quarter in the absence of both the cheife Officers, and beat it up, and, in effect, ruin'd both those Regiments.

The Lo: Hopton coming back from Sussex to Alsford the same night that this misfortune happened, and haveing early newes of it the next morning, went presently to Winchester to consider the best course to repayre it, and being there that night Sir Hum. Benet shewed him a letter, which he just then received from a friend, that advertized him out of the Enemye's quarters, that Sir Wm. Waller had gotten a recrewt of men from London, and some Leather-gunnes,¹ which gave cause to suspect that he had some present designe that requir'd a nimble execution; The Lo: Hopton presently suspected Alton, and forthwith writt, and dispatc'd a messenger on horse-back thither to the E. of Craford, with a leter wherein he sent him a transcript of that intelligence, and desir'd him instantly to send out scouts and partyes every way, and that, if he found but the least suspition, that the Enemy marched with a body, he should presently drawe off from those quarters, and retire to him, with all that he had with him. This leter the E. of Craford received before 11. of the clock, as he himsele afterwards acknowledged, and I am confident will allwaies acknowledge, and presently, as he was ordered, sent out partyes upon all the wayes towards Farnham; But Sir Wm. Waller had verie politiquely, and souldier-like taken advantage of the woodines of that Country, and drawen his men, and his light leather-gunnes into the woods, and with pyoneers, made his way through them, without comeing into any of the high-waies; And so, notwithstanding the advertizement and orders the Lo: Hopton had given, and all the dilligences of the officers upon those orders, Sir Wm. Waller was drawen out the next morning with his Ordinance, and all his forces into the next feild to Alton, before they had the least notice of his moveing, and at the same instant sent severall partyes of horse and dragoons to beate up their horse quarters that were without, and fell upon their foote with his horse and cannon.²

¹ As to these guns see Firth, "Cromwell's Army," p. 156.

² That Sir William Waller laid his plans with great secrecy is shown also by the report to the Parliament. On Tuesday, Dec. 12th, Waller mustered his force in Farnham Park to the number of 5000 horse and foot. They set out at seven o'clock

Notice hereof came to the Lo: Hopton at Winchester who therupon used all possible dilligence to drawe all his forces together, but before he could marche to theire reliefe, the E. of Craford with the horse that remayn'd, finding horse to be of little use in that case, brake through the Enemy, and came to him, and brought him the sadd news of the little possibility of the relieving of the rest, which shortly after, as he was advancing, was brought to him by divers other of Job's messengers, with certaine notice, that Coll. Bolle, behaving himselfe as gallantly as ever man did, was slayne, with many of his men, and the remainder, with that quarter taken by the Enemy. The Lo: Hopton was afterwards assured that Sir Wm. Waller was principally guided in this busines by one Mettham; who had bin an Officer in the E. of Craford's Regiment of horse, and was not long before at Odiam saved from hanging, by the earnest mediation of the E. of Craford, and most of the rest of the Commanders of the Army, which said Mettham (it seem's) had remain'd there a long time an Intelligencer for Sir Wm. Waller. And here begane the waive of the Lo: Hopton's good fortunes, whom God had blest with severall good successes, and without any considerable losse till now.¹

He presently dispatch'd an expresse to His Majestie to

in the evening for a heath between Brundon and Farnham, where they rested an hour for the foot to come up. They then marched together in the direction of Basing until one o'clock in the morning. Then "on a sudden they were appointed to face towards the south and so towards Alton, passing exactly between the hills till they obtained within half a mile of the said town altogether undiscovered by the Enemy, our scouts being so diligent that not a person stirring in those passages was left at liberty to have any opportunity to inform the Enemy of our proceedings." They reached the town about nine o'clock in the morning. The Royalists were untrenched in the market place, and most of the fighting occurred at the church and an adjacent barn.—"*A Narration of the Great Victory*," etc. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 78, No. 22.)

¹ On the 16th Dec. Hopton wrote to Waller from Winchester: "This is the first evident ill successe I have had: I must acknowledge that I have lost many brave and gallant men; I desire you, if Colonell Boles be alive, to propound a fit exchange; if dead, that you will send me his corps: I pray you send me a list of such prisoners as you have that such choice men as they are may not continue long unredeemed: God give a sudden stop to this issue of English blood which is the desire, sir, of your faithful friend to serve you." Lord Crawford also wrote to Waller: "I hope your gaining of Alton cost you dear. It was your lot to drinke of your own sack, which I never intended to have left for you: I pray you favour me so much as to send me my owne Chirurghion and upon my honour I will send you a person suitable to his exchange: Sir your servant Craford." A little before Alton was taken Lord Crawford begged the favour of Sir William Waller to let him have a hogshead of sack, which was sent, and it seems was not all disposed of when Waller took the place. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 78, No. 24.)

Oxford, with a plaine true narrative of the accident as aforesaid, and humbly proposed, that if he might be relieved with 8. or 900. foote, he doubted not to preserve what was left, and repayer what was past. The returne was a verie gracious message from His Majestie full of goodnes, and favour to him; But the desired supply came not. In the meane while the Lord Hopton lost noe time in the releiving of himselfe by his owne endeavours; And considering of his quarters at Arundell as the most engaged, he sent his orders to Coll: Bampheyld¹ then Commander of those quarters, advertising him of the misfortune at Alton, and with all putting him in minde that it was to be expected, that the Enemy would presently fall downe upon Arundell. He therefore commanded him to send him away the three Regiments of horse that were with him. Vizt. Coll. Bellasis, Sir Wm. Botlers, and Sir Wm. Clarks, with what foote he could spare, it being needfull onely to make good the Castle, and permitting him to keepe noe horse with him, saving onely a troope or two of Sir Edw. Fords that were then there. Coll. Bampheyld returne him onely Sir Wm. Botler's, and Coll. Clark's Regiments, but none of his foote, and kept Coll: Bellasis his Regiment contrary to orders, but writt to the Lo: Hopton, that he wanted nothing but powder, whereof if he might be supplied with a competency, he made no doubt to give a good accompt of that place, and of the forces that were with him. The Lo: Hopton forthwith sent dispatches two severall wayes to supply his want. Sending Capt. Browne presently to him with a party of 40. choice horse, and with every horse so much powder as he could conveniently carrie behind him, and at the same instant dispatcht a post to Coll. Wm. Ashbournham, then Governour of Weymouth, to dispatch a Shallop by sea with 24. barrells of powder, And both these expedients tooke effect, for Coll. Bampheyld received both these supplies before the Enemy came before him, And Capt. Browne returned safe with his party.

Within a very few dayes after Sir Wm. Waller (as was before apprehended) came before Arundell; which place, though they did all afterwards hold out with asmuch courage and fidelity as could be expected from honest men, yett errors were

¹ Clarendon (Bk. viij.) says that he was an Irishman named Bamford, "though he called himself Bamfield," and that he was one of the officers without command, who was factious, and hoped to make himself governor.

committed, which distressed them more then the Enemy could have done, And the first was Coll. Bampheyld's disobedience to orders, for if he had (according to the order sent him) sent away all his horse, saving one or two troopes, and betaken himselfe onely to the defence of the Castle, as he was commanded, the horse and foote that he might have spared, would have strengthened the Lo: Hopton for his releife whereas being quickly forced by the Enemy out of the Towne into the Castle, his numbers incumbered and distressed him. Another error was, that haveing made a sufficient provision of bread and malt, they carryed it not in time into the Castle; but lost it with the Towne; Besides it was noe smale misfortune to them that one of theire oxen fell into theire best well, which, being neglected, deprived them of the use of that well; and one more that they had was found insufficient for them.

Upon the Enemye's comeing before Arundell, the Lo: Hopton sent againe to Oxford to desire a supply of foote; whereby he might be enabled for the releife of Arundell; But instead thereof the Lo. Wilmot was sent unto him with a thousand of the King's horse, which, although it was a gallant body, yet was it not proper for that service; But the Lo: Hopton, having receaved notice out of Arundell-Castle, that, by reason of the forementioned accidents, bread, and water began to grow short with them, resolved to advance with what he had, which was a verie gallant body of above 2000 horse, but not above 1200 foote. With these he adventur'd, and marched to West Dean, within 5 miles of Arundell, (3 dayes marche from Winchester.) And the next morning early drew out towards Arundell, with this hope (and scarce any other) that Sir Wm. Waller might be tempted to draw out from his quarters with his horse, and such other part of his army as he could space from the block of the Castle towards him. But that morning being advanced within three miles of Arundell, Capt. Cox adventured to come out of the Castell to the Lo: Hopton, who thereupon called a Councell of warr of the cheife Officers, to whom this Captaine gave an accompt of the state of that place, which was, that the Commanders had sent him to lett the Lo: Hopton know, that they were all very well resolved, and that they had mad[e] a computation of theire provisions, and found they should have noe want for 14 dayes. The Lo: Hopton asked him if he had seene theire stores, esppecially theire wheate, to which

the Captaine answered that he had the day before seene a heape of wheate in a roome, which as he described was computed not to be lesse than 40. quarters. Hereupon, with the advice of the Councell of warr, the Lo: Hopton resolved to drawe back to Westbourne, and the parts thereabout, upon designe, first, to refreshe the Army in those good quarters (The King's horse that came with the Lo: Wilmot being not very patient of the hard quarter of the hill-countrie of Sussex), In the second place to make use of those 14. dayes, by all possible wayes to recrewte his foote, and to give time to Coll. Mynn, with two Regiments of foote that came out of Ireland, and were then in Gloucestershire, to come up unto him for that service, according to His Majestie's orders which he had dispatch'd to them. And that in the meane time they might not seeme to lye altogether idle in their quarters, the Lo: Hopton did upon his retreat, send with his Quartermasters over and above their ordinarie guards, all his dragoones before, to invest Warblington-house, which, being possesst by the Enemy had done much hurt in those quarters; And the Lo: Hopton was resolved to take this opportunity to gett it.

This party advancing according to orders, gott intelligence, about two miles before they came to Westbourne, that Coll: Norton (the Governour of Hampton) was then with a strong party of horse passed through Westbourne, it seem'd, with purpose to drawe upon the reare of Lo: Hopton, whom he thought still advancing towards Arundell. The Lo: Hopton immediatly consulted with the Lo: Wilmot, and the Lo: Wentworth concerning the advantage of this opportunity, and forthwith sending order to the Commander of the dragoons to make good the passe at Warblington (which was their onely retreat) drew off one Brigade of horse, wherewith they advanced with speede towards the way betweene Westbourne and Chichester, having sent Major Browne with a forlorne of 120. horse before, to face Coll: Norton upon that waye, all which fell out so happily, as within short time after the Enemy was come up to face the forlorne hope, the whole Brigade was come up likewise, and Sir Edw. Stowell was sent with a good strong party to charge them, which was quickly executed, and the Enemy rowted, and many taken and killed upon the place, some escaped to Chichester, but Coll. Norton, with not above 50 horse of 5. or 600. that he brought out, endeavoured to returne by Warblington. Two

partyes of horse one of 24. or 25. of the Lo: Hopton's guards, commaunded by Major Maxwell as a forlorne hope, and another of 80 horse commanded by Coll: Horatio Cary, were sent after Norton, hoping betweene these partyes, and the dragoons at Warblington, to make sure of him, and what he had left ; But Horatio Cary fayld of his duty with his party, and the Commander of the dragoones, upon what unfortunate apprehension I know not, for he was an old souldyer, and in many other occasions before and since maintain'd a very cleere, and good reputation, but then upon the first discovery of Coll: Norton with his frighted party, he unfortunately quitted the passe, and retreated, and thereby gave Norton the oportunity to charge and rowte him, where he had the execution of many of his men, the Officers hardly escaping. But in the very heate of this execution, Major Maxwell with his little party fell in upon Norton so sharply, as he recovered all that was alive of the dragoones, and brought in 24. prisoners of Norton's men, himselfe hardly escaping.

This action being thus past with a mixt success, the Lord Hopton settled his quarters for the present at Standstead, and Westbourne, and the parishes adjoyning, and presently drew downe foote about Warblington-house, which was now grown more obstinate by reason of an officer of Coll: Norton's that was gotten in yet within a few dayes he had it rendered by composition. But the Lo: Hopton's greater care being the recrewte of his Army, and the releife of Arundell, he endeavoured the first by carefull dispatch of orders to Winchester and then to other parts of his command ; the second was in dayly consultation betweene him, and the chiefe Commanders of the Army. But before half the time propounded by Capt. Cox was expired, the Lo: Hopton having taken a resolution to command Coll: Robert Legg with 500 horse, and each horse-man a bagg of meale behinde him, to try to putt it into the Castle, was prevented by the sad news of the delivery of the place.¹ And so he retired to

¹ From the account of the siege published by order of the Parliament, we learn that Waller marched to Haslemere on Sunday, 17th Dec. Next day he reached Midhurst, and on Tuesday night came to Arundel Park. The next morning he drove the Royalists out of the town into the Castle. The same day he was reinforced by Col. Morley with a Kentish regiment, and on the Friday following further reinforcements arrived. On that day and the next the "course of a pond was turned the draining whereof emptied the wells of water within the castle." On Monday, Christmas Day, a sally was attempted which failed. During the week there were

Winchester where the very night that he arrived the Lo: Wilmot met with orders to draw away with his horse, and therewithall the Prince's Regiment had orders to draw off with him. Which being a regiment very well officer'd, and being of the number of 200. very good horsemen, had bin a great strength to the Lo: Hopton, and now were drawn from him in his greatest extremity ; there remayning then with him not above 1100. horse and 1100. foote, And Sir Wm. Waller being then at least treble as strong in the field, and the hearts of his men much elated with their successes.

The Lord Wilmot at parting very nobly told the Lord Hopton, that he was sorrie to leave him in the condition he was, but that he could doe noe other ; being commanded. The Lo: Hopton thanked his Lordship (as he had reason) very heartely for the favour he shewed him therein ; and the honour and favour of his good company, and great assistance that he had received from him, while they were together, and desired him to present his humble duty and service to His Majestie and to lett him know the condition he was in, and that his resolution was, if the Enemy advanced, to draw up to him, and to take the best advantage he could of ground, to give him a day for it, there being nothing els left in his power, since he could noe better serve His Majestie he was resolved not to dishonour the service.

After this solemne parting, the Lo: Hopton not dispayring but something might happen for his reliefe, which at present he could not ghesse, presently dispatch'd his orders with severall officers into Wiltshire, and other Western Counties, for recruits of foote and horse, and to Salisbury and other Townes within his quarters he sent upon his owne credit to take up cloth, and other necessaryes to cloathe those he had, which orders being dispatch'd in season, tooke their reasonable effect in dew time. And Sir Wm. Waller staying some time about Arundell, it pleased God to prevent his marche for 3. weekes, or a moneth by a great season of frost and snow. In the meane time the Lo:

daily attempts to escape from the castle, some of which succeeded. The Royalists made a request for sack, tobacco, cards, and dice to be sent to them to while away the time, promising in return beef and mutton, "but the truth is they wanted bread and water." On Friday Hopton was reported to be advancing from Petersfield by way of Marden and West Dean. On Friday Jan. 5th the besieged desired to treat. (*King's Pamph.*, E. 81, No. 10.) The Castle was surrendered to Waller on the 6th Jan. His letters describing the negotiations, and a list of officers taken, are to be seen in *King's Pamph.*, E. 252, No. 16. See also *ibid.*, E. 81, No. 22.

Hopton received from Oxford from His Majestie's leters of great favour and comfort, but therewith orders to draw off to Marlebourghe, that there His Majestie would take care to recrewte him ; To this his Lordship answer'd with a returne of his most humble thanks to His Majestie for His goodnes and favour to him, and that he would prepare with all convenient dilligence to obey His Majestie's orders in his retreat to Marlebourghe that it would aske 4. or 5 dayes to prepare him to draw all orderly off, that in the meane time, if His Majestie would be pleased to take into His consideration, that for the present the weather had releived him, so as he lay in noe danger, for the Enemy could not attempt him, that it might be hoped, that the wether might last till his recrewts, for which he had already dispatcht his orders, might be ready to come to him, that if there were any counsaillable meanes to preserve that County, so useful and so well affected to His Majestie it would very much import his Majestie's service, that, if, by his quitting of these quarters, the Enemy should drawe downe to Winchester and possesse himselfe of that place, all the plaine of Wiltshire would lay open to him ; He therefore humbly ofer'd it to his Majestie's consideration, whither His Majestie would be pleased to trust him with the time of his retreat ; Which His Majestie most graciously did. And according to his hopes, the snowes continued and increased dayly, and stayed the Enemy in his quarters about Arundell. And the Lo: Hopton's recrewts began daily to come up to him ; So as he had gotten to the number of 2000. foote well clad, and 2000 horse. And, not to be altogether idle had taken the oportunity to recover his quarters at Rumsey, where about 80. of the Enemyes foote, with their Colonells and Officers were taken prisoners, besides, some few of them slaine, and others dissipated.

And upon the . . . His Majestie, was pleased to send the Earle of Brainford¹ himselfe with a very handsome body, to the number of about 1200 foote, about 800. horse, and fower pieces of cannon, to joyne with the Lo: Hopton ; And that noble person was so extraordinarily civill to him, as he was very hardly perswaded to take upon him the command in his quarters. The Lo: Hopton mett him at Newbery, and from thence attended him to Winchester and by the way (though not without great importunity) prevayled with him to honour

¹ Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth. He was not created Earl of Brentford until May, 1644.

him with his orders. The Earle of Brainford with the Commanders of his horse, observing the poverty of those quarters, began to apprehend, that the horse of the King's army would hardly remayne contented with them, which the Lo: Hopton had likewise foreseene, And having for divers weeks before fetcht his forage for his horse from the Enemy's quarters about Hampton, he had against the Earle of Brainford's coming to him ordered the Sheriffe of Wiltshire to send him in a hundred carts, which, with the carriages he had before, went 3 or 4. times a weeke, and oftener as there was occasion, attended with strong convoyes into those of the Enemye's quarters, and brought from thence their full loads of haye, or corne, whereof he made a just distribution amongst all the horse, and gave them very good content. By what time they had reasonably settled their quarters, and had once drawn out all their troopes, and seene them joyn'd, they had notice that Sir Wm. Waller had gotten a recrewt of about 1800 horse and dragoons, under the command of Sir Wm. Belfore¹ joyn'd to him, and therewith advanced out of Sussex towards Winchester and was come as farr as Warneford and Westmaine.² And therupon the E. of Brainford and Lo: Hopton consulted and resolved to draw up to them. Upon which reselution the E. of Brainford, having at that present a fitt of the gout, commanded the Lo: Hopton to draw out the whole Army and traine . . . about 3. of the clock in the afternoone and to take his quarters for that night in the field three miles towards the Enemy upon the way of the plaine, which the Lo: Hopton did accordingly, and sent out strong parties of horse severall wayes towards the Enemy, with command not to allarum them, but onely to secure the Army from any surprize of theirs. Next morning before day the Army being ready to marche, the E. of Brainford (though with payne and difficulty enough) came up to it, and presently orders were given, and the Army marched towards Warneford the Enemye's head-quarter, but they haveing discovered one of our parties the night before were drawn out, and embattailld upon a hill about 2. English miles behinde their quarters in a woodland country.

The armyes a while faced one another, and the Generalls

¹ Sir William Balfour. Gardiner gives the number of reinforcements as 4000.

² West Meon.

commanded Sir John Smyth (then Major Generall of the horse) with a good party of horse to advance towards the Enemy, to seeke to drawe him from his advantage to engage from the woods, and neerer the plaine. But that takeing noe effect, and the Lo: Hopton knowing that countrey very well, and that there was a close way through woods and lands from the place where the Enemy stood in battell neerer to Alsford then the place where the Army then stood, suspected that the Enemyes' designe might be to send Sir Wm. Belfore with his horse and dragoones to possesse Alsford; which being a reasonable strong quarter, and within 5 miles of Winchester would have given them great advantage; There was therefore, by the advice of the Lo: Hopton a party sent to discover that way, which brought word of their marche, as was suspected; Hereupon, by the advice of the Lo: Hopton, a resolution was presently taken to marche with the whole Army, with as good speed, as could stand with good order, towards Alsford, and the Lo: Hopton with Sir Edw. Stowell's brigade of horse, and his owne Regiments, one of horse, and another of dragoones, advanc'd with as much speede as they could to possesse Alsford before Sir Wm. Belfore; And the busines was so hard prest on both sides, as the Lo: Hopton, a mile and halfe before he came to Alsford, marching himselfe with Sir Edw. Stowell in the head of his brigade, did plainly discover Sir Wm. Belfore's troopes marching in the lane levell with them, and they were not a mile a sunder;

The Lord Hopton thereupon went, and commanded his owne Regiments of horse and dragoones, that were advanc'd about halfe a mile before, to make all the speede with any convenience they could, to gett into the Towne, and assoone as they recovered the Towne, the dragoons to alight, and make good the Barocadoes towards the Enemy, and the horse to stand together in a body in the market place to second them, as there should be occasion; And himselfe, with Sir Edw. Stowell's Brigade in 2. or 3 divisions (for they were then 100. horse), having first sent back to the E. of Brainford to give him notice of the state of their busines, and of his purposes, and to pray his Excellence to advance with the Army to his reliefe assoone as conveniently he could) march'd the said Brigad[e] with as much dilligence as possibly he could to second the other horse at Alsford; All which tooke a good

effect, for the forlorne hope possest Alsford in time, and the Enemy by that checq made a halt, and tooke theire quarters about Cheriton. Our Army came late to Alsford, they drew not into the Towne, but stooode in armes that night on a rising-ground¹ joyning to the Towne fronting towards the Enemy, onely the E. of Brainford, his indisposition and payne still continuing was (though very hardly) persuaded to take a lodgeing in the Towne.²

The next morning assoone as it was day, the Lo: Hopton sent out a little party, to discover where the Enemy were, which was quickly mett by light partyes of the Enemy, who had taken theire quarters in a low field joyning to the Lady Stukeley's house,³ not a myle and halfe from our Army so as there was but a little hill, and a little vale betweene us; The hill they endeoured to keepe, because it cover'd them from us, and gave them the advantage of looking into us; Wee disputed that ground that day with little partyes, and loose skirmishes, but towards the evening we gott the topp of the hill, and the view of the Enemye's quarters, where they encamped as is said before in a low field enclosed with a very thick hedge and ditch and theire ordnance planted upon the rysing of the hill behind them. Both the Generalls veiwing the advantage of the ground they had gotten, and that there was a little wood on the top of that hill with a fense about it, plac'd Sir George Lisle therein with 1000. Muskettiers, and a guard of 500 horse upon the way by him; and layed out the quarters for the whole army upon the same hill where they had stood in armes the night before, with command to every horseman to rest by his horse, and every footeman by his armes, and every officer in his place. And so the Lo: Brainford, by the importunity of the Lo: Hopton, and the rest of the officers retyr'd to his lodgeing in the Towne, and the Lo: Hopton tooke his quarters in the head of the Army in his coache.

That night Sir Geo. Lisle being verie watchfull upon the Enemyes motions, and giveing of them severall alarums, and being soe neere as he heard them span and drive theire waggons, conceived they had bin drawing off, and so advertized the Lo Hopton, who presently sent the intelligence to the E. of Brainford, and he forthwith directed his orders to command

¹ Tichbourne Down.

² This was on the 27th March.

³ At Hinton Ampner.

Sir Jo: Smyth to drawe out a party of 1000 horse to be ready to wayte upon the reare of the Enemy, which was presently prepared, and, as the day began to breake, the Lo: Hopton went up to Sir Geo. Lisle's guards to take the more certaine information of the Enemy's proceedings.

The morning¹ was very misty, so as he could not make a cleere discovery till the sun was neere his two howers up, and then he found that the Enemy was not drawing off, but that they had in the darke of the night possest themselves of a high woody ground² that was on the right hand of their owne quarters, and plac'd men and cannon in it, that commanded the hill where Sir Geo: Lisle was ; Of this he presently advertized the E. of Brainford ; who (notwithstanding his indisposition came instantly out to him ;) and, seing the posture the Enemy was in, commanded the Lo: Hopton to drawe the whole Army and cannon up to him to that ground, which he did accordingly ; And placing the foote and horse that the E. of Brainford brought with him on the right whing, himselfe with his owne foote and horse drew to the left, which was over against that woody ground that the Enemy had newly possest, and where they understood themselves (as indeede they were) upon a great advantage under the covert of the wood, and having lin'd the hedges next to us with store of muskettiers. This the Lo: Hopton observing tooke his advantage likewise of the ground he was on, and drew all his horse and foote in order on the side of the hill that was from the Enemy, and being there within muskett shott, and yet secured commanded Coll. Appleyeard (now Sir Mathew Appleyeard) to draw out of the foote a commanded pa[r]ty of 1000. muskettiers, which he did, and devided them into 4 devisions, and in that order (as he was commanded) advanced towards the Enemy ; But the bodies of our men no sooner appear'd on the topp of the Hill, but the Enemy shewed how well they were prepared for us, and gave fier very thick and sharpe, which our men very gallantly receaved and return'd ; But the Lo: Hopton foreseeing that our party could not long hold out upon so great disadvantage, and observing an opportunity to cast men into the wood upon the flanke of the Enemy, he drew of Lieutenant Coll: Edward Hopton with one division of the commanded muskettiers, and commanded them to run with all possible speede into the wood

¹ Of March 29th.

² Cheriton Wood.

upon the Enemyes flank, where there was likewise a crosse-hedge to cover them, which they had noe sooner done, and given one volley from thence but the Enemy fell in disorder; and began to runne, and Coll. Appleyeard with his party pursued them, and had the execution of a part of them through the wood, and possest himselfe of all their ground of advantage, and tooke a horse Colours and some prisoners, but none of their cannon, for they being light gunns were drawen off.

The Lo. Hopton having carefully placed all his guards both of horse and foote upon all the Avenues of that ground which he had newly gotten from the Enemy, and finding that he had from thence a faire way to fall upon the flank of their whole army, sent Sir Jo: Paulet and Coll: Hayes to the E. of Brainford to give him an accompt of the successe he had had, and of the advantage, he conceiv'd, he had at the present, and that, if his Excellence were so pleased, he would with 1000 horse, and 1000 muskettiers charge the flank of the Enemy's Army. The E. of Brainford return'd his answer with civilities of great favour and encouragement for what he had done, but, that having now possest all the ground of advantage on our side, his opinion was that we should not hazard any farther attempt, for that he conceived the Enemy would now be forced, either to charge us upon their disadvantage, or to retire. The Lo: Hopton remain'd extremely satisfied with that solid advice; And having settled all guards and orders upon the left wing, went himselfe towards the right wing to confer with the Lo: Generall. And being neere the mid-way upon the brow of the hill he saw troopes of the right wing too far advanced, and hotly engaged with the Enemy in the foote of the hill, and so hard prest, as when he came to the Lo: Brainford, he found him much troubled with it, for, it seemes the engagement was by the forwardnes of some particular officers, without order.¹ Lo: Brainford thereupon ordered him to drawe out 1000 horse, and to commande them to advance to the Enemyes horse that were in the Common at the foote of the Hill, and to charge them. He thereupon drew out Sir Edw. Stowell for that service with his owne Brigade, which then consisted of 1000 horse, who perform'd it with very great gallantry, but after a sharpe and close charge that continued neere halfe an hower, his body of horse was broken and rowted,

¹ Slingsby names Sir Henry Bard as the offender.

and himselfe charging home to their cannon was taken prisoner with five wounds upon him. And while the Lo: Hopton was ordering this charge, the rest of our horse, all, saving Sir Hum. Benet's Regiment, that stood in reserve on the top of the hill were wholly engaged. In this unfortunat charge we lost many of our best officers ; And the Lord John Stuart Brother to the Duke of Richmond, who commanded the Lo: Hopton's horse, and Sir John Smyth who was his Major Generall of horse, he, with much adoe, gott of alive, but both mortally wounded.

By this time the whole horse were in disorder, and the Lo: Hopton had much adoe to gett to the number of 300 horse to stand with him at the entrance into the Common, where all the Enemye's horse stood in bodyes before him ; The greater part of that little number of horse that stayed with him were of the Queene's Regiment, where Monsr. de Plurie their cheife Commander doing his duty like a very worthy person in the head of them had his legg shott off to the ankle with a great shott, whereof he shortly after dyed, and the Lo: Hoptons horse received a muskett shott in the shoulder ; Yet it pleased God that they made that stand good, till, with the advice, and assistance of the Earle of Brainford, the rest of the horse and foote were retreated, and had recovered the top of the Hill, where they had at first drawn up in the morning ; But by this time the disorder was so generall, and the Enemy pressed in that part so hard (esppecially with their muskett shott) that it was with great difficulty that we gott off all our cannon ; and making our reare as good as we could with some of the best of our horse and dragoons, we recovered our first ground upon the ridge of the hill by Alsford-towne, with all our Army, cannon and carriages ; from whence we shewed so good a countenance towards the Enemy, that they gave us some respitt, unwilling (as it seem'd) to hazard their whole army upon us. And thereby the two Generalls had some short time to consult, and the Lo: Hopton (who best knew the Country) advised by noe meanes to retyre to Winchester it being an indefensible ill provided place, and utterly unsafe for an Army in that condition, But that Coll: Fielding (who then commanded the Ordinance) should presently marche off with the trayne and carriages towards Winchester, but being a mile on his way should turne off upon the right hand towards Basing. The foote (with onely a little party of 100. horse to abide in the

reare,) to take the lower way through Alsford towards Basing, which after a mile entered into lanes and woods ; and that the horse should make their retreat by the way of the Downes ; All this was executed accordingly ; And, after Coll: Fielding was cleere gon off with his trayne and carriages, the E. of Brainford commanded the Lo: Hopton to take the charge of the foote, first placing 1000. muskettiers in the Towne to make good his retreat with the horse. And the E. of Brainford did, with admirable conduct and gallantry, sende off the horse, remayning himselfe with his page last upon the ground, and then gott off himseife hardly pursued by the Enemye's horse untill he gott over the nexte passe, where he faced againe. And at the same time the Lo: Hopton drew out his 1000 foote out of the Towne, and with the foote recovered Basing about one of the clock that night without farther resistance. But the E. of Brainford was forced to face about at every passe for the first 2. or 3. miles, and many of his horse brake from him ; Yet, it pleased God, that all both horse and foote, cannon and carriages came safe to Basing that night, and after one dayes rest marched to Redding. Where shortly after his Majestie finding it convenient to make his owne army as strong as he could, joyn'd the Lord Hopton with his forces to it, and at the same time drew off the Garrison of Redding.

*Letters relating to the Condition of the Parliament's Forces in
June, 1643.*

TANNER MS., NO. 62, FO. 128.

SIR,

Wee as your seruants cannot but acquaint you with our condicion. Wee haue a bodie of horse by Gods blessinge able to doe the Kingdome good seruice. The enimie lies still att Wells. That part of the cuntrie is altogether vnfit for horse. It greeues our soules wee dare not attempt what wee desire. Wee must not hazard your trust like fooles, Nether can wee stay heare and starue. Wee haue longe and often supplicated you for mony. Find vs but a way to liue without it, or else wee humblie begge a present supply, if not, this horse will certainly disband, which thought makes our harts

to bleed. Wee doubt not of your well wishes, but if you rest there, hold blameles,

Sir,

Your humblest seruants,

WILLIAM WALLER,
ART. HESILRIGE.

Bathe, this 22 of June, 1643.

For the much honored William Lentall, Esq.,
Speaker of the House of Commons.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 22, NO. 1696.

HONOURABLE SIR,

This messenger bringing letters to mee from my Lord Generall to bee conueyed to my Lord of Stanford, and the Deputy Leiutenant of Deuon: I haue taken the best course I can to send them safely to Exoñ, which I doubt will prooue a difficult businesse, the enemy being at this time possessed of Taunton; all the passages are almost stopd between vs and them. I haue laboured (euer since I founde the drift of the enemy to ioyn their forces) that wee might ioyn ours, but I could neuer effect it, and the successe hath answerd my expectation: for as soone as I heard of the enemyes drawing towards the West, I sent away for those forces that were left in Taunton (fearing it would prooue another Sisiter businesse) to come away, and bring all the armes and amunition that was in the Towne with them and to throw the Ordnance with their Carriages into the Moate of the Castle. Vpon this the Townesmen rise vpon the souldiers, kept the guards and would not suffer them to march away. In this Mutiny the enemy appeard before the Towne, summond it, a treaty was accepted, all our armes to the number of a thousand, 22 barrells of powder and seven or eight peices of Ordnance lost. This newes being brought to Bridgewater and aggravated by the Malignants who are very strong in that Towne, causd the souldiers to mutiny there too and cry out that they would stay noe longer. Vpon this wee plac'd good guards vpon euery gate and commaunded them that they should suffer noe man passe out of the Towne. The souldiers vpon this fell vpon the guards and forced their passage out of the Towne, soe that I thinke by this time, the armes, Magazine

and Ordnance of that Towne too are possessed by the enemy.
God direct and vnite vs speedily, that wee may giue a stoppe
to the enemy, which is the hearty prayer of

Your most humble seruant,

EDW. POPHAM.

Glaston, this 5th of June, at 10 at night, 1643.

To the Right Honourable Coll.: Nathaniell Fiennes,
Gouernor of Bristol, Hast these.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 22, NO. 1700.

NOBLE COLONEL,

Wee drewe up our Forces this day alltogether neer
to Sommerton, and now I can assure you that all the Deuonsheire
and Sommerset sheire horse and dragoones are not aboue a
thousand, but on Friday last they were at least two thousand
besides Colonel Coles and Colonel Strodes horses. This I write
that you may knowe the certainty thereof, but the report goes
that wee are in all two thousand, and I would wee were thought
to be more, that ours might be more confident then they are, and
the enemy not so forward to pursue us, for the last night eight
troopes of them came to the village where wee should haue
quartered the last night, but not findinge us there, they plundered
and carry[ed] all away and presented themselues neer Lampart
where Colonel Popham quartered. He is now at Glacenary
with all the Sommerset Forces, and those of Deuon are here
with all yours, and since it is reported and thought that the
enemy intendes to goe suddenly against Bristole, I desier to
knowe what your minde is that I shall doe, either to stay with
these Forces here, or to returne to Bristole. I shall desier
to be where I may doe best service, beinge in all faithfullnesse,

Your most humble servant,

HERCULES LANGRISHE.

From Weells this 6th of June, 1643.

I haue deliuered your letter to Colonel Cole who sent it to
the other deputie lieutenants at Glacenary, but I long to knowe
your resolution.

To y^e right Honourable Colonel Nathaniell Fiennes,
Gouerneur of Bristole, present these.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 22, NO. 1701.

SIR,

The last night you had an account from Major Langridge how that both the towne of Taunton and Bridgwater were very strangely deserted by the souldiers and officers there. Wee are now advanced with the body of horse and foote that wee haue as farre as Glassenbury and Wells, hoping to meett with Sir William Waller and his . . . ,* soe that wee may unite to make one body to stope the fury and Insolency of the enimie; and I make noe question but wee might well doe itt, if you could spare us but 500 foote out of your garison. Sir, when wee came from Exter with our horse and Dragoons wee were not soe well prouided with mony as the iourney wee are now like to vndertake does require for the payment of our souldiers. Wee, therefore, make itt our request to you to supply us with fiae hundred powndes which shall bee repayed you or any other that will doe us that courtesie one sight of your ore ther bill att Exter by Mr. Vaughan, the treasurer of our army there. Wee pray you to retourne your answere by this messenger to your

Most affectionated frynds and humble servants,
ANTH. NICOLL,
W. GOULD.

Bath, this 7th of June, 1643,
past twelue att night.

Sir, The forces wee haue of horse and foote are aboute 2000; Sir William Waller has as many more and seauen peeces of ordinances. The enimie has about 3000 foote and 1000 horse ore more. The Earl of Essex is one his march towards Oxforde. Sir, if you cannott gett soe much mony retourned for Exter, wee will vndertake to haue itt payed in London.

To our honoured Friende Collonel Nathanyel Fines these.
Bristoll. Haste.

* Some word struck out.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 22, NO. 1704.

NOBLE SIR,

I am here to receive the mony expected and charged vpon the severall hundreds. The inhabitants and Counstables of the hundred of Keynsham bring in very little mony, alleageing that they are eaten vp and charged more then comes to thire share by the Bristoll Troopers and dragooners, and they say that Collonell Popham ordered them to pay noe more vpon the weekly assessment vntill they were satisfyed for the expences of those souldiers aforesayd. In the same manner doe other Counstables make thire complaints, soe that I am extreamely perplexed with them and receive very small summes, and how I shall remydy it I know not. Wherefore, you must needes take course that the people may receive satisfaction, and that the refusers be compelled to bring in thire mony, otherwise I may sitt here and looke for mony and the souldiers be wholly disappointed. I have no more but to enlarge my complaints which will not bring mony without the help of your souldiers. I have not sent my order which I promised you, because I have not warrant and order from Collonell Popham, whereby I am authorized to pay soe many of his Companys that are quartred there, for he tolde of 2 Companys and you spake of 3 Companys. I pray lett it be ordered, and send me your warrant signed by Collonell Popham, and I shall, vpon sight thereof, appoint soe many hundreds adioyneing as shall make good that weekly charge out of the weekly payment, and thus with the tender of my best service doe rest,

Your humble servant,

JOHN ASHE.

Bath, primo Junij,* 1643.

Sir, excuse this scribling, for its in the midst of a passionate debate amongst the necligent Counstables.

To the ever honored Collonell Nathaniel Fiennes,
Governour of Bristoll these. Bristoll.

* In the printed calendar this letter is wrongly dated 18 June.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 22, NO. 1705.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I am commanded from Sir William Waller to importune a speedie dispatch of your horse, and that you will cause a proclamation to bee made that all officers and troopers on payne of death repayre to theire colours. His farther earnest desire is that you would draw forth some 500 Commanded men (noe enemie being now capable of anoying you) and send them with all possible speede mounted to him, for his want of foote is soe greate that hee as yett hath not 500. If you can not spare or mount soe manie, Sir Williams desires are for as ample a proportion as possibly you can spare and provide. The Enemie is on theire march for Oxford and delay is now our greatest danger. Hee doubts not but your cause and our condition will bee arguments sufficiently preualent. And hence I shall proceede to the preferring of my owne petition in the behalfe of the Ladies. My Ladie Newton haueing procured a protection from Sir William Waller, my humble request is that you will bee pleased to concurr for her protection. If you will send her soe manie lines as will assure her of her safty, It will bee most acceptable. Else bee pleased to take notice of her as occasion serves. And you will extreamey oblige y^e Ladie and engage, Sir,

Your most faythfull servant,

EDWARD COOKE.

Bath, June 24, 1643.

Sir William Waller desires and in the Generall proclamation you perticularly insert Captain Geezeley formerly Captain Lieutenant to Collonel Carey, that with all speede hee, with such of his troope as hee hath theire, with speede repayre to the bregade.

To the Honourable Collonell Nat: Fiennes,
Gouernor of Bristol, These present.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 23, NO. 1738 (3).

Colonel Slingsby's relation of the movement from Crewkerne to Lansdown, and after of the taking of Bristol.

After Stratton ffeild, the Cornishe Army aduanced Eastward ; in theire Marche faced Excester ; They within the towne expecting a Seige, sends away theire horse and dragoones to the number of 1200: wee marche to Chard, theire ioyned with Prince Mawrice and Marquis Hartford ; both Armys making up the number of 4000 ffootte and 2400 horse, fighting men ; which with officers may passe for an Army of 7000.

This next day this Army marched to Orchard, a place within one mile of Taunton ; from thence, next morning, wee summond the Towne, which was the same day surrendered to us upon Composition : That night, my Lord Carnarvans Regiment of horse (then Commaunded by Lieutenant Collonel Richard Neville) and my Lord Mohuns Regiment of ffootte, was commaunded to march presently to Bridgwater, and to bloke up the passes to that Towne till further Order, but about eleven of the clocke att night, the garrison within disperst themselues, before wee were well settled in our guards, and (knowing the Country) gott away, leaving theire gates open :

In these two Townes, and thereabout in the Country, the Army rested 7 or 8 daies, then made Somerton our generall Rendezuous ; which (being the head quarter) was next morning before day Alarum'd, by those westerne horse which then lay att Glastenburry ; but theire attempt was but upon a poore small quarter of dragoones, where they themselues receiu'd the greatest dammage, and besides, it proov'd muche to theire prejudice in another respect ; for y^e alarum was soe earely that by daylight, wee had drawne our whole Army into the feild ; and suddenly marched up to theire quarters att Glastenburry, which They in some disorder quitt, and retreated to Wells, from whence they were likewise beaten after an hower's dispute : They Then gott vp to the top of Mendip vpon the brow that lookes ouer Wells, and theire drew up and faced us : Prince Mawrice leauing all our body of ffootte in the Towne, attempted the hill with all the horse, and with greate courage (though not a litle dificultye) remooou'd the Enemy from that ground, who made a fighting retreatate ouer the Mendip hills, till

they were beaten into the skirts of Wallers Army ; whose entire Army of horse and ffootte had yett laid unmolested att ease in their quarters ; but Waller vpon this alarum, had drawne together all his horse, and by the helpe of a thicke fog, ioynes undiscover'd with the retreating westernne horse ; and soe all together charges the Prince afreshe, who (being not willing to expose his whole strength of horse against soe many fresh horse) after many gallant charges, in which the Prince him selfe was wounded in the head, and unhorsed, hee retreated to Wells and the Enemy to Bathe :

Att this posture stood both Armyes eight or tenne daies, acting nothing ; but preparing for action of both sides ; remounting ordnance, fixing armes, and refreshing horse and man :

Then does the Kings Army mooue first and marches to Bradford within fower miles of Bathe : the next morning our skoutts brought us word that the Enemy was drawne into the field horse and ffoote in the midle way betwixt our quarters ; wee draw out presently and marche towards the place, and finds them but a party and fixed vpon a ground of greate aduantage, yett from thence (though with a very hott dispute) they were remou'd with the losse of two small pieces, and neare 100 men. Wee possessing this ground discover'd the body of the Enemy drawne up in batalia on the other side the Rhiuer and about two miles of ; thus had the shifting Rebells deluded us one day with a party, hoping to make us weary with dancing about him, or else to fight where hee pleas'd : upon this wee were once resolu'd to marche directly up to Lansdowne hill ; but afterwards (considering the night approaching, the narrow and craggy passage up the hill, with the aduantage their horse might take vpon our Reare, who would bee more bold and troublesome hauing a good Towne for a retreat soe neare them) wee lay all night in the bottome close by the ffoote of the hill.

The next morning when day appear'd our Enemy did the like upon the hill, who as with iudgement obseru'd our motion and discern'd our intention soe with greate industry and care labour'd all night both to preuent us, and to serue himselfe of such an advantage : and indeede that Generall of the Rebells was the best shifter and chooser of ground when hee was not Master of the field that I euer saw ; wch are greate abilities in a Souldier.

Vpon this South side of Lansdowne hee shewes us his whole body; that day wee spent in looking upon one another; the Enemy veiw'd our whole Army as it stood rang'd in the valley whose number could not then bee disguis'd, soe that it appear'd too big to invite him downe to fight; towards night wee marchd off the feild towards Marsfeild, upon our remouuall a lusty party of the Enemys horse falls on our Reare, who att first bred a litle trouble, but were att last repulsed with losse and shame.

That night wee lay att Marsfeild and next day fought Lansdowne batle, the Rebels being then drawne vp vpon the North side of the hill.

After the King's Army had lay a while at Kensham about fve miles from Bristoll, wee heard from Prince Rupert by some gentlemen by him sent purposely to consult with us of the manner of the Seige: and after, in one day, and att one hower appear'd before the Cittye with two good Armys; one on one side, the other on the other: That Euening approacht nearer, and settled our Leaguer, giuing euery diuision theire quarter to hutt in; our batteries were begun presently, and our artillerye next day drawne into them: two or three daies were spent, and nothing more done; then came Prince Rupert ouer to our west side to aduise with vs, whether wee should approche, or storme it: The officers of his Army was for a Storme, those of ours for approche: and they were both in the right; for, that side of the Towne was to bee storm'd; and not easily (by reason of rockye ground and high redoubts) to bee approacht; our side was easily approached to, but by reason of a plaine leuell meddow, and a deeper graft then wee were prouided for, not without greate hazard to bee storm'd; yett Prince Rupert preuail'd with his brother, and it was then resolu'd upon to give a generall assault.

The night appointed came: on our side wee fell on in three places, with the Cornish ffootte; one diuision led by Sir Nicholas Slanning, with whom was 5 officers of the feild more, Collonell Bucke, Collonell John Treuanyon, Collonell Bernard Ashley (then Commaunding my Lord Hartfords Regiment), L. Collonell Slingsby (then Commaunding my Lord Mohuns Regiment), and Serieant Maior Kendall, with about 300 men, a small number to goe under the Conduct of sixe feild officers; of those sixe Collonell Slanning, Collonell Bucke, Collonell Treuanyon and

Major Kendall was slaine, two dead in the place two dying presently after; Collonel Bernard Ashley carry'd of wounded; the sixth man afterwards helping by force of hands to thrust a cart into the graft gott a fall with the Cart, and being in his Armes, was soe bruise'd that hee was carry'd of senselesse) after most of the men had diserted him: In this place there was slaine Captaine Riche, Lieutenent Crab, my owne Lieutenent, and many other officers by mee forgotten; Captain Jeruis brought of wounded; of the souldiers to my owne knowledge a full third part kild and wounded.

This diuision was winged with two more; that on the right led by some of Marquesse Hartfords officers with whom I had noe acquaintance; that on the left led on by Sir Thomas Bassett; how those two diuisions behau'd them selues I am not able to iudge, being too busy att that time to obserue others; but that euening when I was able to hold up my head, I could see fve times more dead bodyes on the place where wee were then on both there grounds: thus were wee repulsed on the west side.

On the other side they fell on very resolutely, but was repulsed from all partes but one in the bottome betwixt the two forts then cald Brandon hill fort, and the Mill ffortt; where Collonell Henry Washington happely gott in; who presently makes a breache for the horse, the Prince sends in his horse, which caused all the Enemy to withdraw of the line into there fforts, and into the Towne; after the horse and ffoote was drawne in the Prince falls into the suburbs, and approaches toward ffrome gate; where hee lost Collonell Henry Lunsford, L. Collonell Nat. Moyle, and many other good Men, yett came soe close upp to the gate that the Cittye sounded a parley; Then the treatye begun about 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, and ended about 10 of the clocke att night; next day the Towne and Castle and all the ordnance was surrendred into our hands. The Enemy marched away with there Armes.

That day I came ouer the Rhiuer and veiw'd that side where I found very many of our Men slaine especially in those places where my Lord Grandyson, and my Lord Henry Bellasis fell on; they were commaunded to assault Brandon, and Prior hill ffortts, which is not to bee taken by a storme; they were both wounded, and left the grafts full of dead bodys.

This is all I can remember of the Seige of Bristoll; but thus much I can say is perfectly true.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 23, NO. 1738 (2).

*Colonel Slingsby's relation of the battle of Lansdown and Roundway Down.*¹

The night before the battaile att Launslowne the Kings Army quarter'd att Marsfield; in the morning betimes Waller sent a strong party of horse towardses our head quarter, who beate in all our horse guards, and alarum'd all our quarters: wee instantly drew into the field and marchd two miles towards Launslowne where we could see the Rebells Army drawne up upon the top of the hill, he stood upon a piece of ground almost inaccessible. In the brow of the hill, hee had raised brest-workes in w^{ch} his cannon and greate store of small shott was placed; on either fflanke hee was strenghtned with a thicke wood w^{ch} stood upon the declining of the hill, in w^{ch} hee had putt store of muskeiteires; on his reare hee had a faire plaine where stood rang'd his reserues of horse and ffootte; some bodyes of horse with muskeiteires hee bestow'd upon some other places of the hill, where hee thought there was any accesse; thus fortyfied stood the foxe gazing at us when our whole Army was raung'd in order of battle upon the large corne field neare Tughill. In this posture wee continued about two houres; nothing passing but loose skirmishes upon Tughill, betwixt a party of our vantgard and a party of horse and dragoones of the enemys sent downe the hill for that purpose. The Kings Army found that the Rebells would not bee drawne to fight but vpon extreame aduantages; and therefore faced about and marched towardses our quarter in order as wee had stood w^{ch} the ground would admit of, being a continuing plaine large feild all the way to Marsfeild; when we had marched neare a mile the whole strength of Wallers horse and dragoones descends the hill, and falls vpon our reare; wee faced about againe and aduanced vpon them endeavouring to regain our ground where wee were before rang'd: w^{ch} wee gott with muche dificultye and

¹ Clarendon's endorsement says that this paper was delivered on 20 April, 1647, at Jersey.

hazard, our horse receiving some dangerous foiles ; so that had not our ffoote bin excellent wee had certainly suffer'd their: the Rebells horse not enduring our charges of horse and volleys of small shott that fell upon them from our approaching bodys of ffootte, they retir'd themselves out of that feild ; but left all their dragoones upon the walls and hedges upon the farre end of the feild neare Tughill from whence our ffoote beate them suddenly. The enemys horse being now prest into the laine that leads ouer Tughill to Lansdowne, were obseru'd to be in some disorder by reason of the narrow and ill passage. Prince Maurice therefore takes all our horse and wings them on both sides the laine within the hedges with small shott, and soe smartly fell upon them, that some run in greate disorder ; but it seemes they had (like prouident souldiers) placed their best horse in the Reare who being compeld, turnes about and fights desperately, and their giues our horse another foile with the death of Major Lower, Major James and many others : but our horse being still assisted by the ffoote, att last beate them down Tughill, where in the bottom they were cruelly gall'd by our ffoote that then drew vp thicke vpon Tughill.

Now did our ffootte belieue noe men their equals, and were soe apt to vndertake anything, that the hill upon wch the Rebells stood well fortified litle without muskett shott (from whence they racked us with their cannon) could not deterre them ; for they desir'd to fall on and cry'd lett us fetch those cannon. Order was presently giuen to attempt the hill with horse and ffootte : greate partys of Muskeiteires was sent out of either of our wings to fall into those woodes w^{ch} flanked the Enemye, and in w^{ch} they had lodg'd stoare of small shott for their defence, the horse were to pass upp the highway, but were att first repulsed ; Sr Beuill Grenvill then stood on the head of his Regiment upon Tughill, who aduanced presently putting all his shott upon his left hand within a wall, and carry'd with him horse on his right hand, the ground being best their for horse, and hee himselve lead up his pikes in the midle : hee gain'd with much gallantry the brow of the hill receiving all their small shott and cannon from their brest worke, and three charges of horse two of wch hee stood ; but in the third fell with him many of his men : yett had his appearing upon the ground so disorder'd the Enemy, his owne muskeiteires fying fast vpon their horse, that they could not stay vpon the ground longer ;

the Rebells ffootte tooke example by their horse and quitt their brestworks retyring behind a long stone wall that runs across the downe; our ffootte leps into their brestworks; our horse draws up upon their ground: our two wings that were sent to fall into the two woodes had done their businesse and were vpon the hill as soone as the rest.

The Enemy (observing our ffront to enlarge it selfe upon the hill, and our cannon appearing their likewise) began to suspect himself, and drew his whole strength behind that wall, wch hee lined well with muskeiteires, and in seuerall places broke down breaches very broad that his horse might charge if there were occasion, w^{ch} breaches were guarded by his cannon and bodyes of pikes.

Thus stood the two Armys taking breath looking upon each other, our cannon on both sides playing without ceasing till it was darke, legs and armes flying apace, the two Armys being within muskett shott: After it was darke there was greatesilence on both sides, att wch time our right wing of shott got muche nearer their army lodging themselves amongst the many little pitts betwixt the wall and the wood from whence wee gald them cruelly.

About 11 of the clock we receiu'd a very greatesilence volley of small shott but not mixt with cannon by which some of us judg'd that hee was retreating, and gaue this att his expiring; but the generall apprehension through our Army was that the Enemy had intention to trye a push in the night for their ground, wch they had soe dishonorably lost; for wee were then seated like a heavy stone vpon the very brow of the hill, wch with one lustye charge might well haue bin rowl'd to the bottome.

It was not long before wee knew certainly that they were gone, att their departure they left all their light matches upon the wall and whole bodyes of pikes standing upright in order within the wall as if men had held them; wee were glad they were gone for if they had not I know who had within an hower; but indeede had our horse bin as good as the Enemys the rebells had never gone of the feild unruin'd.

We kept the feild till it was day light and then plundered it, and sent severall partys of horse seuerall waies, att whose return we were inform'd that the Enemy was in Bathe. At eight of the clocke we marched of towards Marsfeild. Upon

Tughill one of our ammunition waggons tooke fyre, blew up many men and hurt many ; especially my Lord Hopton ; Major Sheldane dyed the next day and was much lamented : this disaster encourag'd the Rebels and discourag'd us. Our horse were bad before but now worse, our ffoote drooped for their Lord whom they lou'd, and that they had not powder left to defend him, for as I remember we had then but nine barrels left : that night wee quarter'd att Marsfeild, being Thursday, the same night the enemy drawes out of Bath up to Lamsdowne againe ; the next morning being friday we marched to Chippenham, the same night the enemy steps into our quarters att Marsfeild, and now the Country seeing him following us begins to disert us ; soe that wee could gett neither meale nor intelligence, two necessary things for an Army : wee lay att Chippenham two nights, but were on Sunday earely, ffrighted from thence by the Enemys neare approche ; Wee marched to the Deuizes, but Waller falls vpon our Reare, when it was two miles from the Towne ; our horse offered to make the retreat, but after a charge or two, made too much hast to the towne. Prince Mawrice then order'd my Lord Mohuns Regiment (then Commaunded by your servant) to stay att a ffoord about a mile from the Towne, and to keepe that passe till hee had drawne up the Army upon the hill by the Towne, which was done in halfe an hower, and then upon the word that Regiment was drawne of, hauing endur'd much shott, nothing sheltering them they were expos'd too openly, a brooke only running betwixt the Enemy and them : that Regiment left odde of fortye dead in that place, and carry'd of 17 wounded, of which Captaine Bluett and Leiuetenant May were recouered only, though one shott into the very bosome, the other through the shoulder.

The next morning the Enemy faced us with their whole Army upon Roundway downe, and wee drew into the Towne : that afternoone the Enemy drawes downe his whole Army of the hill, and lyes in the Valley betwixt the towne and the hill, the same being Monday Prince Mawrice, the Marquis Hartford and all the horse, getts safe to Oxford :

The next morning Waller drawes his whole force close to the Towne and beleaguers us round, lying in many places within Carabine shott ; rais'd a batterye upon a hill neare the Towne, and then incessantly day and night poores greate and small

shott into us. Their was no better workes then hedges, yett had wee soe barocaded the Aduenues that their horse could not charge in upon us, neither durst their ffoote attempt us, wee being almost twice their number, and better ffootte: our match faild us and wee were forced to use all the bed-cord in the towne, which being prepar'd with rossell seru'd well: the Lord Crafford was comming with ammunicion to us, but was beaten by the way; upon which Waller giues notice of that mischance and offers us Conditions, but not granting them soe honorable as wee demaunded the Treaty was quickly dissolu'd.

Within three daies after Prince Mawrice and the Lord Wilmott comes to our releife with a good strength of horse; of which the Enemy gaue us notice by his drawing entirely of from the Towne and ordering his Army vpon Roundway-downe.

About two of the clocke the kings horse appeare; about three they charge the Enemys vanguard, which was suddenly disorder'd, by whose helpe and fowle retreat the rest was the like; soe that on a sudden, wee could see the Enemy's whole body of horse face about and run with speede, and our horse in close bodye fying in their reare, till they had chased them downe the hill in a steepe place, where neuer horse went downe nor up before: Waller went in soe much hast that hee left all his body off ffootte and cannon standing upon the very crowne of the hill, who for a while made gallant resistance against our horse, defending themselues in hopes their generall would bee soe mindfull of them, as to retourne into the feild and fetch of his ffootte and cannon; but perceiuing hee stay'd too long, and that our Cornishe Regiments was comming apace upon them, they thought it not soe safe to stay for their encounter, and therefore began to mooue towards the next enclosures hoping to make their retreat; but drawing ouer the downes, seeing seuerall bodyes of our horse pressing hard upon them on all sides, they began to fall in peices, and melt into such disorder that they suffer'd miserably; they were about 1800 in number of which aboue 600 was then slaine, the rest all wounded and taken with their coullors and armes, and nine brasse peice of cannon.

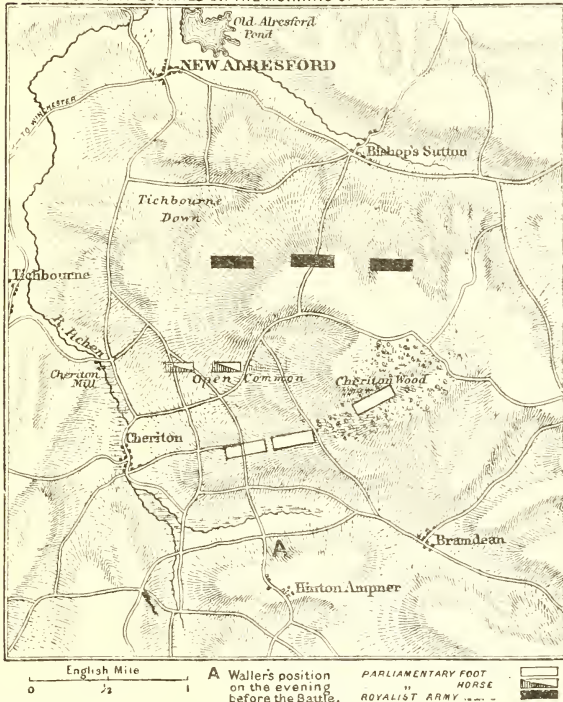
From hence the kings Army marched to Bathe, which place with some castles and petty garrisons neare adioyning was quickly surrendered into our hands.

From thence after some daies the Army remou'd to Keynsham, and from thence to the Leaguer of Bristoll, lying downe on the West side of the Cittye.

CLARENDON MSS., VOL. 23, NO. 1738 (7).

Colonel Slingsby's Relation of the Battle of Alresford.

POSITION OF THE ARMIES ON THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE OF CHERITON.



[This plan of the battle is reproduced, by permission of Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., from Gardiner's "History of the Great Civil War."]

Slingsby's account of the battle of Alresford, or Cheriton, is not so satisfactory as Hopton's. He corroborates Hopton in some important particulars, but he is relying on his recollection after the lapse of some time, and notably his statement of the time spent between the occupation of Alresford by the Royalists and the final engagement is much exaggerated. The Earl of Forth and Hopton occupied Alresford on March 27th. Waller took up a position at Hinton Ampner on the same day. On the 28th the Royalists advanced to the top of Tichbourne Down, and established an outpost on a lower hill which rises from the north bank of the Itchen. The position of this outpost, under Sir George Lisle, was that shown on the above plan as occupied on the following day by the Parliamentary foot. During the night of the 28th or early morning of the 29th Waller posted a considerable force in Cheriton Wood, thus outflanking Lisle's advanced force, which had to fall back upon the main body. Colonel Appleyard ultimately succeeded in driving the Parliament soldiers out of the wood. This done, Hopton advised a charge with both horse and foot along the ridge. Forth shrank from the risk; "having now possesst all the ground of advantage on our side, his opinion was that wee should not hazard any farther attempt, for that he conceived the enemy would now be forced either to charge us upon their disadvantage, or to retire." Hopton was "extremely satisfied" with the advice, but the correct judgment of the leaders was neutralized by the rashness and want of discipline of regimental officers. While Hopton was conferring with Forth he saw to his astonishment a body of his horse hotly engaged in the valley below his right front. This was Sir Henry Bard's regiment, of which, Slingsby tells us, every man was taken, or killed. Waller, having thus succeeded to drawing the Royalist horse down into the valley, attacked the left wing of his enemy. This charge was well resisted by the Royalist foot, and bodies of horse were sent to their assistance. Thus almost the whole of the King's horse were engaged, and chiefly in unfavourable ground. They lost heavily, were thrown into disorder, and the time for retreat had come. Covering their rear with the best of their horse and dragoons, Forth and Hopton between them succeeded in drawing off their foot and guns, by way of Alresford, to Basing, which they reached that night.

Before the battaile of Alsford the kings Army lay in and about Winchester, the Enemys att Farnham, our two winter quarters. Upon report of Wallers approache wee made ready to aduance, and hearing that some Footte and horse of his first Troopes quarter'd within eight miles of Winchester, wee drew out in the close of the euening our whole body, marched silently three miles, and their lay all night under the couert of a wood. Next morning earely advanced in hopes to haue surpriz'd them in this quarter, but when wee came thither, not a man was to be found. Yett wee spy'd a full Regiment with white collours stand in order facing us upon our left hand about a mile and a halfe from us, but could by noe meanes discover where the

Enemys body lay ; but (suspecting hee was stolne through the enclosures to surprize Alsford and keepe that ground (being an excellent quarter for that purpose) whilst wee were seeking him another way) our Army marched with greate hast crosse the Country to gett a passe, which led to the Towne, before the Enemy, which wee did, and then hunted about for to discouer where this yett inuisible body lay, and at last found his whole strength, horse, foote and artillerye, in a low meade within halfe a mile of us, where hee shadowed himselfe in his march by a lane, and in that ground by a thicke high hedge. Wee then marched to Alrsford and hutted in the feild close by the Towne. The next morning wee found the Enemy likewise hutting in his ground where hee did intend to stand us.

In this posture wee lay 6 dayes, our guards of horse perpetually skirmishing. On the seventh day in the morning earely intelligence came that the Enemy had placed a thowsand muskeiteires and two peice of cannon in a thick wood which stood upon his right hand and helped him to aduance soe muche ground securely towards the hill where wee intended to fight, which lay in the midle way or rather more towards his Camp. Upon this report the kings whole Army stands to their armes, mounts their horses and marches up to the hill, their drawes up in battalia. Then was Collonell Appleyard, with a thousand commaunded muskeiteires, order'd to fall in upon the wood, which hee perform'd very well, beating them out in such disorder that many was slaine (I beleieve to the number of 80) and three times as many armes taken. This defeite putt the Rebels into such a fright that wee could discerne seuerall companys of thirty, of forty, and more in some, running ouer the feilds in the reare of their Army halfe a mile and as well discerne their horses span'd in their carriages and to their artillerye. This encourag'd us soe muche that wee made too muche hast to finishe the businesse (for had wee but stood still and make signes of falling on, they had probably melted away without fighting a stroake more), but wee were order'd to fall on from both wings, which was the only cause of their standing to fight ; for then the Enemy finds most of our strength drawne of the hill into a bottome, where hee had his desir'd aduantage : and our first mischance hapned on our right wing, where Sir Henry Bard, leading on his Regiment further then hee had orders for, and indeede with more youthfull courage

then souldierlike discretion, was obseru'd by the Enemy to bee a greate space before the rest, and out of his ground, who incontinently thrusts Sir Arthur Hassellrigs Regiment of horse, well arm'd, betwixt him and home, and theire in the view of our whole Army (much to our discouragement) kills and takes every man.

Upon this successe the Enemy resumes theire first courage, which prompted them to trye a feild with us, or rather a better then that, which made them resolute to beate us; and soe with a strong body of horse charges our footte on the left wing, on that part which my Lord of Brainford was pleas'd to make your seruants charge, theire the Enemy horse was repulssed with losse. They immediatly try'd the second charge in which Captain Herbert of my Lord Hoptons Regiment was slaine, with a fresh body and were againe repulssed, and soe againe the third time, the footte keeping theire ground in a close body, not firing till within two pikes length, and then three rankes att a time, after turning up the butt end of theire musketts, charging theire pikes, and standing close, preseru'd themselues, and slew many of the enemy.

Then my Lord John Steward (seeing our footte like to be oppress with freshe horse) sends downe the Queenes Regiment of horse, which were most Frenche, who descended the hill into this ground with seeming resolution, but retreated after an unhandsome charge. Then wee drew downe most of the horse and endeauor'd to draw up upon that plaine ground before our footte, in which our Enemys horse stood rang'd in nine faire bodys, but hauing one laines end only to passe into it, they came upon great disadvantages, for by that time one body was in the ground and drawne up (before another could second it), it was ouer chargd with number; yett I am confident our horse did performe more gallant charges that day then hath bin knowne in any one battaile this warr; wherein my Lord John Steward, Sir John Smith, Collonell Sands, L. Collonell Scott, and many gallant gentlemen more slaine, whose names I cannot now call to mind. Sir Edward Stowell wounded and taken, Collonell Leg wounded, Major Bishop and Captain Seymour desperately wounded, and many more; our horse (discouragd and enfeebled with the losse of soe many or almost all theire principall officers) were not soe fitt to fight againe, especially in regard theire number began to lessen apace; they were

therefore with the footte drawne from that bottome up to the hill where our cannon and reserues stood, but before wee could theire reduce our selues to order, the Enemys left wing aduances up to the end of the hill where our right should haue bin in readynesse to resist them, but after some struggling to repulse them, in which Collonell Appleyard was shott, wee were Compeld to draw of in such disorder as wee were forced backe to the ground where wee had hutted the 6 daies before; and theire drew up in some order, but could not make aboue 800 or not soe many horse in the feild; of footte wee shewd a reasonable number. Thus wee stood till they drew their cannon up soe neare that they fyred upon us three times. Wee stood their aboue an hower, in which time wee sent away ours and then drew in good order through Alsford Towne and soe to Basing house that night (which is sixteene miles), not loosing a gunn or a coullor, nor a man of that body with which wee made our retreat.

Sir, I cannot properly relate the seige and losse of Bristoll in many respects, which I will not yett forbear to mention. The Prince hath formerly bin obseru'd to bee my Enemy; if I mention those errors which I know was committed, I shall bee iudg'd malitious, if his industry and prouidence, with those many handsome actions hee was Authour of, I may bee thought to flatter him and fawne, which I would not doe to him aboue all men. Another reason is, because, after the first debaite upon the summons (in which my brother Robert and my selfe both found inclinations to a surrender in too many and noe hopes of out voicing them), wee both forbare the Councell of warr as much as wee could possibly. Another reason is, because I myselfe had, by Gods helpe, bin very fortunate in a sallye before the storme; and in the storme to make the only resistance, though with difficultye: for these reasons, I beseeche yow, pardon this neglect and my vnwillingnesse: noe other seruiice being done that is worth mentioning in paper.

THE COMMISSION OF ARRAY FOR DEVON.

THE Commission granted to the Marquess of Hertford is printed in Rushworth (vol. iv. p. 672). It covered the counties of Devon, Cornwall,

Somerset, Dorset, Southampton, Gloucester, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, and the cities of Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, and Oxford, with their respective counties, the cities of Bath, Wells, New Salisbury, and Hereford, and the towns of Pool, Southampton, and Haverford West, with their counties. It was not, strictly speaking, a Commission of Array, although it conferred upon Lord Hertford the power to raise forces. He was thereby appointed Lieutenant-General of all such forces as by virtue of that Commission should be levied or be brought to him within any of the counties or places above named. He was empowered to "command and enjoin the Commissioners of our Commissions of Array and sheriffs of our said several counties" to provide him with men, properly armed, as he should require them. This Commission is dated at York, the 2nd August, 1642. Before this date Commissions of Array, properly so called, had been issued. A translation of that for the county of Devon, the original of which is in the editor's possession, is printed below. It will be seen that it is dated at Beverly, the 19th July, 1642. This is not the place to discuss the legality, or the reverse, of these instruments. Suffice it to remind the reader that they were issued by the King ostensibly upon the authority of the Statute passed in the fifth year of Henry IV., and, indeed, a comparison between the Commission here printed and the form appended to the Statute shows that the draughtsman of the former had the latter before him, and closely followed its language. The contention of the Parliament was that such instruments were absolutely illegal. They pointed out that the Statute of Henry IV. was passed with the sole object of protecting Commissioners from the consequences of certain penal clauses which were to be struck out of the form submitted to them, and were not to be used in any future Commission. The Parliament pressed this ingenious argument to justify the action of the Commons in passing this Statute, notwithstanding that, according to the later contention, the Commission itself was illegal, from the Statute of Winchester downwards, by reason of the provisions otherwise made from time to time for the general arming of the people. They said, true the Commons struck out those clauses, but they were only acting for the benefit of possible Commissioners and knew well enough that they, the commons, the people, were safe, for the Commission of Array, even without the objectionable clauses, could not lawfully be put upon them. This was in substance the argument. But, not content with this, and the many Statutes relating to arming and the view of arms, the Parliament relied on the Petition of Right and the Statute of their own passing for the better raising and levying of soldiers. The King replied upon this, "all which," as Whitelock says, "rather exasperated the differences." The details of the dispute are to be found in Rushworth (vol. v. pp. 655, etc.).

TRANSLATION.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, defender of the Faith, &c. To our well-beloved cousin and counsellor Henry Earl of Bath and to our well-beloved cousin Edward Viscount Chichester and also to

our beloved and trusty Edward Seymore knight and baronet, Thomas Hele, Hugh Pollard, John Davye baronets, Thomas Drewe knight, Francis Fulford knight, Edward Southcott knight, Shilston Calmady knight, Ralph Sydenham knight, Nicholas Martin knight, Richard Reynell knight, John Chichester knight, Nicholas Slanninge knight, Popham Southcott knight, John Ackland, Edward Seymor, Henry Ayshford, William Carey, John Harris, John Peeter, William Morris, Arthur Bassett, John Gifford, Thomas Moncke, John Harris of Radford Esquires, and to the Sheriff of our county of Devon for the time being greeting. Know ye that we wishing, as we are bound, by Divine favour to resist the wickedness of our enemies if they should presume to invade our kingdom of England (which may it not happen), and for the salvation and defence of us and of our kingdom aforesaid and of our liege subjects of the same, to dispose and determine, have assigned, you or any three or more of you, to array and train all and singular men at arms and armed men and archers dwelling in the county aforesaid, within the liberties and without, and to cause all those to be armed who are able and fit of body, who have wherewith of their own to arm themselves, that is to say, each of them according to his state and means, and to assess and apportion according to your counsel and discretion or of any three or more of you, and also to compel all those who are possessed of lands and goods, and incapable of serving by weakness of body, to provide, according to the quantity of their lands and goods and as they reasonably can bear (saving their condition) armour for the men at arms and armed men and bows and arrows. So that they who shall stay or can stay at their own home in their country shall not take wages or expenses for their delay at their homes aforesaid, on the defence of the same kingdom against our enemies if danger should arise, and to cause the said men at arms and armed men and archers so arrayed and furnished, continuously to be held and put in array in thousands, hundreds and twenties and otherwise as it shall be convenient and necessary. We have assigned either you or any three or more of you (of whom we wish you the aforesaid Earl of Bath, and in your absence you the aforesaid Viscount Chichester to be one) to command and enjoin the said men at arms, armed men and archers so arrayed and furnished to drive away, make war on and destroy, from time to time when any danger should arise, our said

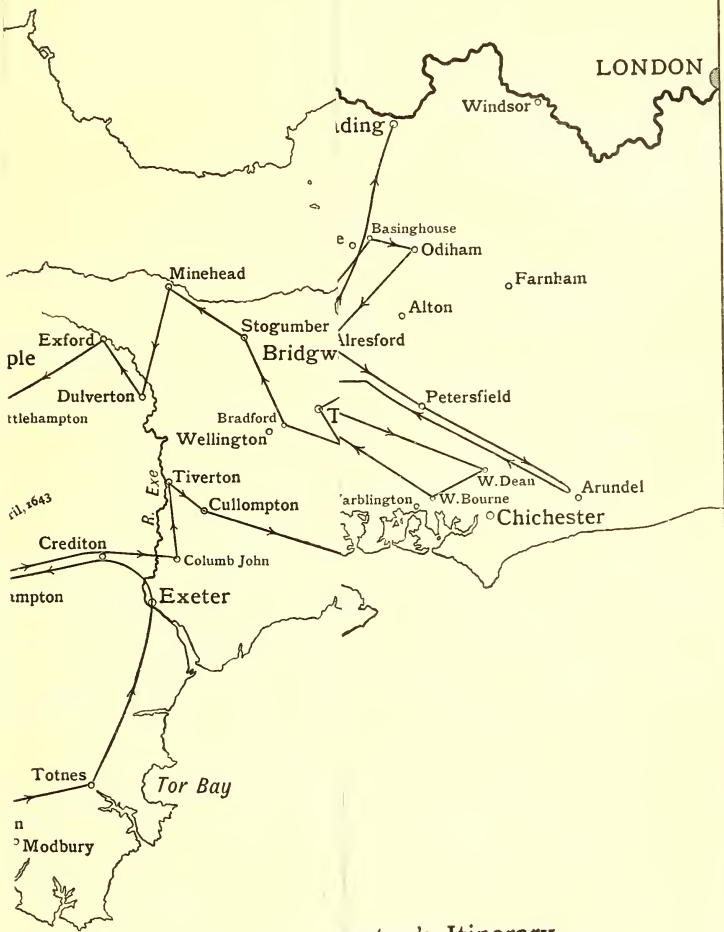
enemies, as well at the sea coast as at other places where and as often as it shall be necessary. We have assigned also you or any three or more of you diligently to cause and superintend the muster or mustering of the same men at arms, armed men and archers from time to time as often as they shall need it. And also to proclaim, ordain and diligently ascertain that all and singular such men at arms, armed men and archers in such musters are armed with their own and not with the armour of others upon pain of the loss of the same, Except only those who at the expense of others ought to be armed as is aforesaid, and to arrest and take all and singular those who in that behalf you shall discover stubborn or rebellious and to commit them to our prisons, there to remain until they shall be delivered thence according to law. And therefore we do enjoin and order you as strictly as we can, on the faith and allegiance by which you are held to us, that immediately on the sight of these presents in the best and safest way you can you yourselves do cause to be arrayed and prepared and to come and be called before you at certain days and places which you shall see to be most fit and expedient and least inconvenient for our people, all the men dwelling in the country by whom such array and armament can best be done and completed, and do cause them to be arrayed, armed and furnished, and them so arrayed, armed and furnished do you keep in such array. And further you shall cause signals called Beacons to be put in the accustomed places by which the people of the country may be forewarned at fitting times of the arrival of our enemies. And the same men so arrayed and furnished, when the danger shall have come, ye or any three or more of you (of whom we wish you the aforesaid Earl of Bath, and in your absence you the aforesaid Viscount Chichester to be one) shall cause to be led, as is aforesaid, in the defence of the kingdom and country aforesaid from time to time as well to the sea coast as to other places where it shall be most necessary. So that hurt of the country aforesaid by our enemies shall not happen in any way to the best of your power by default of defence, arraying or leading of the said men or by your negligence. Moreover we give to all and singular Earls, Barons, knights, mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, ministers and other our trusty and liege subjects of the country aforesaid (as well within the liberties as without) by the tenour of these presents firmly in command that to you and every of you in carrying out and

fulfilling all and singular the premises, they do be intendant, counselling and assistant. And to you the aforesaid Sheriff, that, at certain days and places which for this purpose you or any three or more of you as is aforesaid shall appoint, do cause to come before you or any such three or more of you as is aforesaid all those in the county aforesaid by whom the array, assessment and ordination may the better be done and fulfilled, and those who shall happen to be taken and arrested for their rebellion you do keep in our prison as is aforesaid. In witness whereof these our letters we have caused to be made Patent. Witness ourself at Beverley the 19th day of July, in the 18th year of our reign.

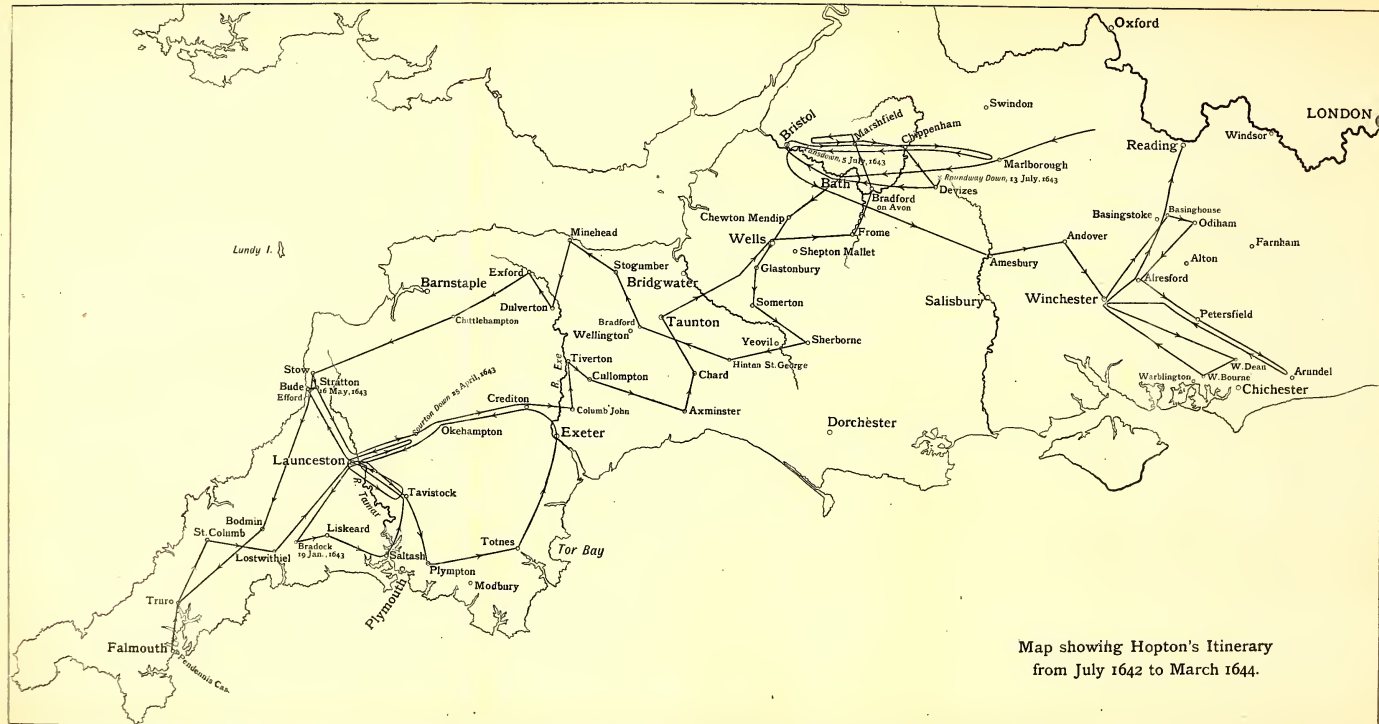
[Endorsed]

A Commission of Array for the County of Devon.

WILLYS.



option's Itinerary
to March 1644.



Map showing Hopton's Itinerary
from July 1642 to March 1644.

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